

TIME

SPECIAL REPORT

Lifting The Veil

The shocking story of how the Taliban brutalized the women of Afghanistan. How much better will their lives be now?

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OS X today is truly a stunning piece of engineering, beautiful to behold, fun to use, and as sturdy as any operating system I've ever seen."

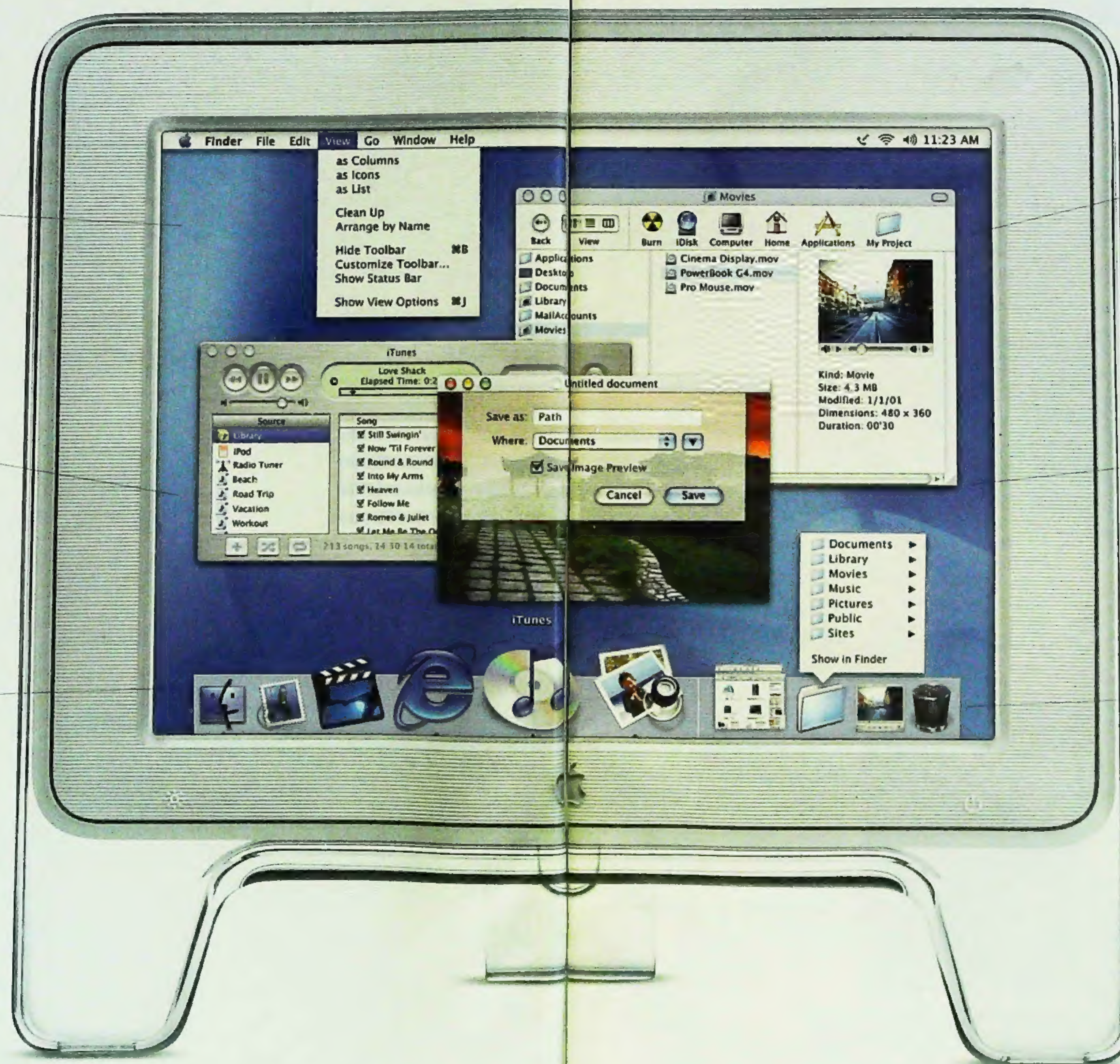
— Charles Haddad, BusinessWeek

"OS X 10.1 is stable, reliable, beautiful and a joy to use. So I now recommend it without hesitation. If you've got a capable Mac, it's time to step into the future and move up to Mac OS X."

— Bob LeVitus, appearing in Houston Chronicle

"For those who crave a sophisticated alternative to the monopoly-power operating system, there is OS X."

— Jon Fortt, San Jose Mercury News



"The new OS X for Mac runs circles around Windows XP, booting up faster, recognizing digital devices easier, burning CDs better and playing digital music and video cleaner."

— Mike Wendland, Detroit Free Press

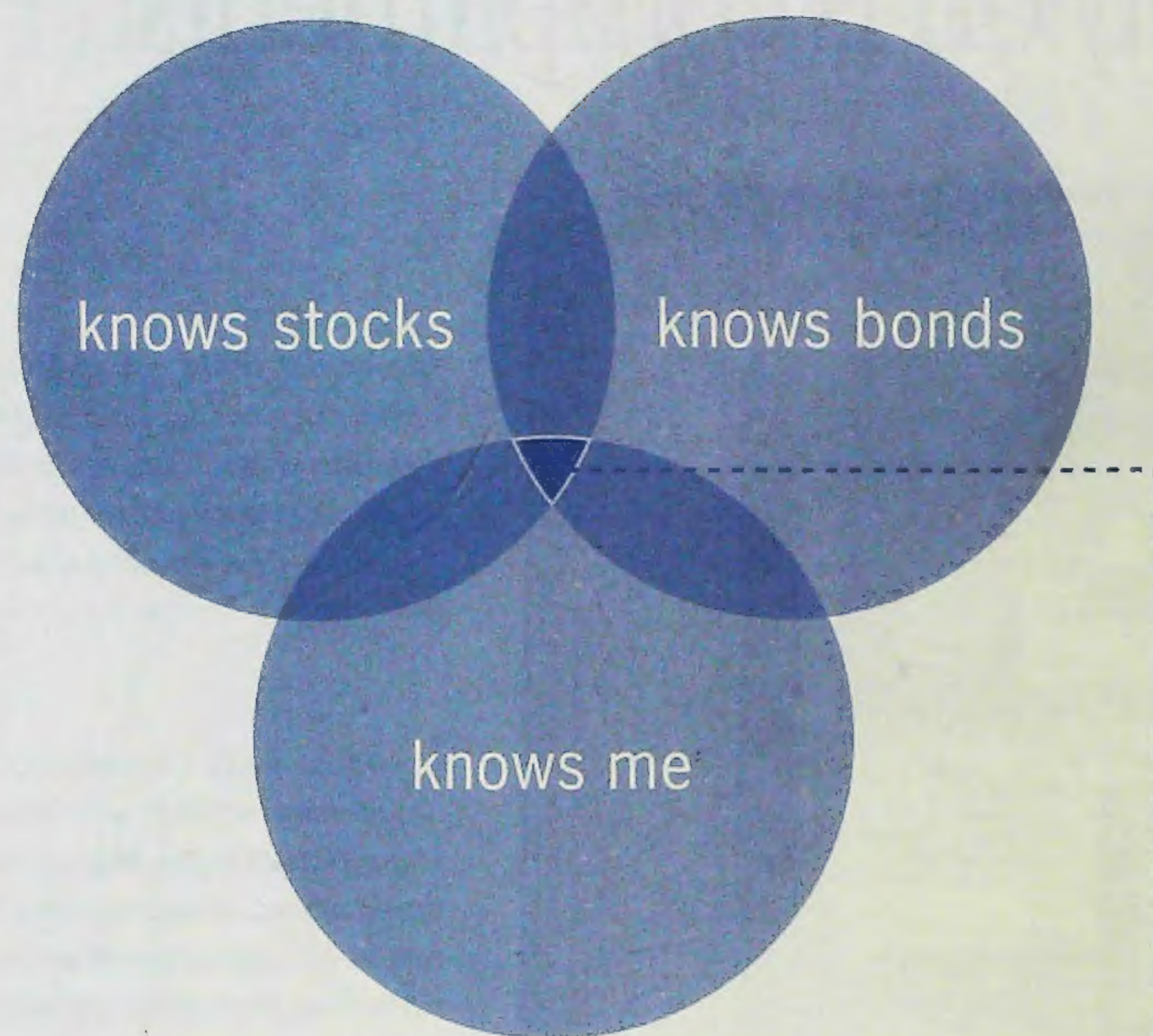
"Apple's new Mac OS X is a real peach. With the devices around my home office, OS X outplugged and outplayed Windows. Music and video were equally a breeze. Transferring tunes to a portable MP3 player is a cinch and the iMovie video editing program was a pleasure."

— Edward Baig, USA TODAY

"OS X is the nicest operating system I've ever seen."

*— David Coursey, ZDNet AnchorDesk,
September 30, 2001*





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TIME

DECEMBER 3, 2001 / VOL. 158 NO. 24

Behind the Veil

Under the Taliban, women saw the world only through the narrow meshes of their burkas. But have they now won freedom? **Page 34**

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THE WAR

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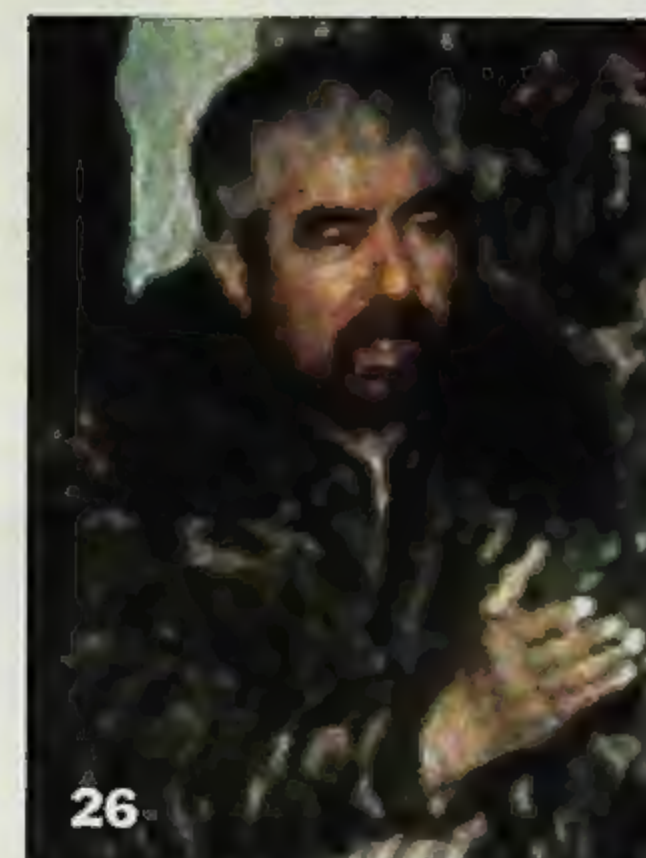
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COVER: Before the Taliban came to power, Saliha, photographed in Kabul on Nov. 22, was a journalist for an Afghan women's magazine. Photograph for TIME by John Stanmeyer—VII

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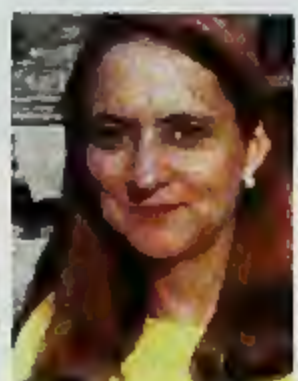
TALK TO US ONLINE

Each week TIME writers and editors chat on AOL about the news and answer your questions. Just go to AOL, Keyword: Live—and ask whatever you want.



JAMES PONIEWOZIK is TIME's TV and media critic, and in recent weeks he's been writing for both the magazine and TIME.com on how the pop-culture landscape has changed since 9/11. He's also managed to find time to write about the fall TV season. Chat with him on Monday at 8 p.m. E.T.

LISA BEYER has been editing our foreign coverage in recent weeks. In the current issue she writes about the women of Islam. It's a subject she knows well, having been based in the Middle East from 1991 to 2000. Talk to her on Tuesday at 8 p.m. E.T.



RICHARD SCHICKEL is a veteran TIME film critic who this week reviews *Kandahar*, a film that explores the routine anarchy of daily life in Afghanistan, and *Behind Enemy Lines*, a war movie about a Navy flyer who is shot down in Serbia. Talk to him on Wednesday at 8 p.m. E.T.

MARK THOMPSON is TIME's military correspondent, and in recent weeks he's been scurrying around Washington trying to glean the war's directions by talking with tight-lipped military officers. "I've been reduced to interpreting their grunts, groans, grimaces and grins for TIME's readers," says Thompson. Chat with him on Thursday at 8 p.m. E.T.



JOHN STANMEYER—VII FOR TIME

PHOTO ESSAY
KABUL UNVEILED

TIME photographer John Stanmeyer's experience as a fashion photographer served him well in his work on the cover story about Afghan women. His images of a Taliban-free Kabul show women shopping for burkas, as well as feminists who have tossed their burkas aside. His photo essay on TIME.com is a striking look at the changing circumstances of women in Afghanistan. Go to time.com/stanmeyer

WEB LORE
NO ONE EVER SAID
THE TALIBAN HAD
A SENSE OF HUMOR

Last week journalists from the *Times* of London and the BBC breathlessly reported discovering documents about making nuclear weapons at an abandoned "al-Qaeda safe house" in Kabul. But it's likely that the journalists—as well as the al-Qaeda members—were fooled by a satirical 1979 article that the would-be terrorists found on the Web. A sharp-eyed editor at a site called the Daily Rotten noticed similarities between a facetious article titled "Let's Make a Thermonuclear Device!" which appeared in a now defunct humor publication called *Journal of Irreproducible Results*, and the language in the *Times* story, as well as the images on the BBC. A sample passage from the article: "Please remember that Plutonium is somewhat dangerous. Wash your hands with soap and warm water after handling the material, and don't allow your children or pets to play in it or eat it." To read more on this, go to wired.com/news/culture



JAMES COLBURN

VIEWPOINT
HILLARY ON WOMEN

"Women's rights are human rights," says Senator Hillary Clinton in an essay for TIME.com. "They are universal values that we have the right—and the responsibility—to promote every place in the world, and especially in a place like Afghanistan." With the Taliban's retreat giving fresh hope to the country's women, Clinton says the U.S. should make sure that women play a prominent role in a new Afghanistan. "It is not only the right thing to do; it is the smart thing to do." Read the rest at time.com/clinton



DON HEUPEL—AP

ONLINE DISPATCHES
BURKA FASHIONS

"This year's trendy color for burkas is a pale sky blue," reports TIME's Tim McGirk from Afghanistan. This week on TIME.com, McGirk writes about Afghan women, their complicated relationship to their signature head-to-toe garment and how their lives are changing. time.com/mcgirk

« REFUGEE DILEMMA

TIME's Alex Perry reports on the humanitarian crisis in northern Afghanistan and the difficult, sometimes painful position of a reporter in a refugee camp. In the camps, says Perry, "I have been asked again and again why the aid isn't coming." For more, go to time.com/perry

ALEX PERRY FOR TIME



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LETTERS



Bin Laden's Web of Terror

“The time is long overdue for moderate Muslims to conspicuously join against terrorism and the al-Qaeda network.”

BOYD C. BAIRD
Traverse City, Mich.

RE YOUR ARTICLE ON OSAMA BIN LADEN'S al-Qaeda network: Over the past few years we have been going gaga over globalization; now let us face its inevitable fallout, global terror [SPECIAL REPORT, Nov. 12]. The web of terror is enmeshed in the Internet. We must be prepared for online terrorism. Still we should not lose faith in technology; it will surely produce a solution to the problems it is creating.

NANDINI DUTTA
New Delhi

THE MAP YOU PUBLISHED OF AL-QAEDA'S network of influence was enough to put the fear of God into any nonbeliever. How can we possibly hope to defeat such an extensive organization? I'm glad that I'm not young anymore and I'll probably not live to see the end of this devil's plan.

YVONNE SMITH
Satellite Beach, Fla.

AL-QAEDA AND ITS VARIOUS FACTIONS never had the ability to start a revolution in their own countries—a people's revolution like the ones in France, Poland, Russia and the U.S. These cowards live in caves for a reason. They are afraid to face society and Islam openly with their complaints. An open society is easy to destroy but harder to build, maintain and govern. These terrorists are so intolerant of others, they themselves are dictators.

GERRI CROFTS
Whitehouse Station, N.J.

UNLESS THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF terrorism are addressed and resolved, these militants will continue to sprout up like poisonous mushrooms on a dung heap, releasing their deadly spores to travel around the world. The U.S. will be a lot safer when it forgoes the rule of “might makes right” in its international affairs and supports the United Nations in its efforts to resolve international disputes

fairly. The world is too interconnected to solve international problems while peering through the lens of nationalism.

NEIL BEZAIRE
Carlsbad, Calif.

BIN LADEN HAS GRAVELY UNDERESTIMATED the resolve of Americans to defend their liberty, whatever the price. And that makes more than 280 million reasons he can't win.

JOHN F. CAMPBELL
Los Angeles

The War Against the Taliban

EVERY FIBER OF MY BEING IS SAYING, GET out of Afghanistan [THE WAR, Nov. 12]! Hundreds if not thousands of the terrorists who were trained there have gone on to other places. And in other countries the training may be passed on to thousands more who have the same hatred. American money and time should be spent on isolating Afghanistan, supporting countries nearby and mending fences. I am afraid that the U.S. will squander a huge amount of its personnel and financial resources without accomplishing anything but a loss of international support.

HEATHER WHITE
Palo Alto, Calif.

Nukes on the Loose

I AM RELIEVED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT and the media are addressing the threat of a terrorist attack using nuclear weapons [TERRORISM, Nov. 12]. The only real obstacle to such an assault would be obtaining fissionable material. No infiltration, truck rental, border crossing or complex delivery system would be needed—a bomb could be detonated in the hold of a ship in an American harbor. If one of our coastal cities is ever ham-

pered by a nuclear blast, the reduced effectiveness of the device at ground level will be of little comfort, and Sept. 11 will seem like an unheeded warning. We must do whatever is necessary to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, materials and expertise. We should not delay in implementing policies that will protect our great cities from this disaster.

STEVEN PAYNE
Westville, N.J.

Overtaken by Events

IN HIS COMMENTARY, ROGER ROSENBLATT noted that the U.S., following a period of “rampant vapidness,” has reconnected with history since Sept. 11 [ESSAY, Nov. 12]. Not only is it time for us to get back into history, but we also need to remember its lessons. After the end of World War II, the U.S. used the Marshall Plan to pour millions of dollars into Western Europe to rebuild the countries ravaged by the war. When the war in Afghanistan is over, we need to invest in that country's future so another Osama bin Laden won't use it as a staging ground for ter-

SALUTING OUR HEROES



Within hours of the disaster on Sept. 11, TIME FOR KIDS—TIME's newsmagazine for students from kindergarten through Grade 6—began to hear from its readers. In e-mails from all around the country, they eagerly shared their fears, grief, prayers and pride in the heroism of rescue workers. Inspired by this outpouring, TFK created a program called Kids' Salute to America's Heroes and asked students to write and illustrate their appreciation for New York City's police officers and fire fighters. The mail poured in—almost 20,000 drawings, cards, essays and poems. TFK heard from kids writing in English, Spanish, even Braille. Then TFK staff members and volunteers arranged the original documents and artwork into posters and scrapbooks that will be presented to each of the 98 New York City firehouses that lost fire fighters on Sept. 11, as well as to various police precincts, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani and President Bush. You can view the contributions of TFK's young readers on the Web at www.timeforkids.com/kidthanks

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rorism. We cannot take on Afghanistan with half measures; we need a comprehensive plan to rebuild the country and return hope to its people.

A.M. GULAS
Alexandria, Va.

I'VE GROWN UP AS AN AMERICAN, LEARNED my country's history. But birth and knowledge alone do not a citizen make. It often takes some great communal happening to make one feel truly connected to one's heritage and place. Every now and then an event marks the time for us with striking clarity. No matter how much sorrow lingers for the nation and the world after Sept. 11, no matter what fears we will have to accept, no matter how much anger we harbor, we're all in this together now. Isn't that what makes a nation?

CHRISTOPHER KERNS
Rockville, Md.

The Safety of Gum Arabic

IN YOUR ARTICLE "WHAT'S NEXT?", ABOUT other potential weapons of terror [BIOTERROR, Nov. 5], you said one object of concern was imported gum arabic plants, the source of food additives that come largely from Sudan via Canada and may enter the U.S. uninspected because of the North American Free Trade Agreement. This was misleading. Gum arabic is imported into the U.S. directly from Africa in raw form, and at our company we liquefy, pasteurize and convert it into a powder. According to statistics from the U.S. International Trade Commission, no gum arabic was imported from Canada between 1996 and 2000. The level of concern over the safety of gum arabic in foods should be no less and no greater than that for any other food ingredient processed in the U.S.

STEPHEN A. ANDON, PRESIDENT
TIC GUMS
Belcamp, Md.

Fastball or Sink?

IN HER CHEERLEADING PIECE "UNLEASH the Pitcher Within!", Margaret Carlson asserted that President Bush's pitch at the World Series game brought great comfort to Americans [PUBLIC EYE, Nov. 12]. It seems Carlson has been taken in by the Administration's spin. I was as comforted by Bush's performance on the pitching mound as I was when I saw the 50%-off sale on gas masks at the local Army-surplus store. Carlson also wrote that Bush's off-the-cuff remarks are more powerful than

his prepared speeches. Frankly, I find his casual remarks frightening. I'd feel much better about the President's "pitch" if I knew he was working to understand the real source of the problems in the Middle East.

JOE LEWANDOWSKI
Fort Collins, Colo.

BUSH'S FIRST PITCH AT THE WORLD SERIES was billed as an act of defiance against terrorist threats. All it really proved was that spending an extraordinary amount of money on increased security could protect one person. The real acts of defiance are by those who will be part of large crowds attending sporting events each weekend, postal employees who haven't missed a delivery in the face of anthrax infection and the people of New York City who are still going about their business although they were directly affected by the terrorist attacks.

ANDREW ANDONIADIS
Beaverton, Ore.

AS A NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH, I FEEL that in light of recent events, the U.S. is very fortunate to have President Bush in office at this time. When he speaks, there is a sense of dignity and honor. From the perspective of someone who lives outside the U.S., I find that the President epitomizes the strength of character needed in a leader in critical times.

LORI A. GRIFFIN
Elmira, Ont.

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Send Mickey to Kabul

THE AFGHAN CHILDREN SHOWN IN YOUR pictures of Afghanistan are beautiful [PHOTO ESSAY, Nov. 5]. It seems as though they should be no different from children anywhere who want to have plenty to eat and go to bed with visions of pleasurable things. I've yet to meet a kid from any culture who didn't get excited about Disney World and Disney characters. Imagine how little Afghan faces would brighten if they had the opportunity to see these things! It could be said that bin Laden, al-Qaeda and the Taliban have waged war against Mickey Mouse. Maybe that should be our official propaganda slogan.

DAVID ZISKIND
North Woodmere, N.Y.

Britney Without Fear

YOUR REVIEW OF BRITNEY SPEARS' NEW album, *Britney*, was very disrespectful of Spears and her fans [SHORT TAKES, Nov. 12]. The CD is filled not with "titillating words and groans" but with edgy, funky tracks. It is not "frivolous" to care about Spears' artistic growth. Instead, it is what President Bush has asked Americans to do after Sept. 11—go about living our lives normally and not live in fear. Therefore, if your normal life includes listening to Britney's irresistible pop, let it be.

ERIN M. LOUNSBURY
Farmingville, N.Y.

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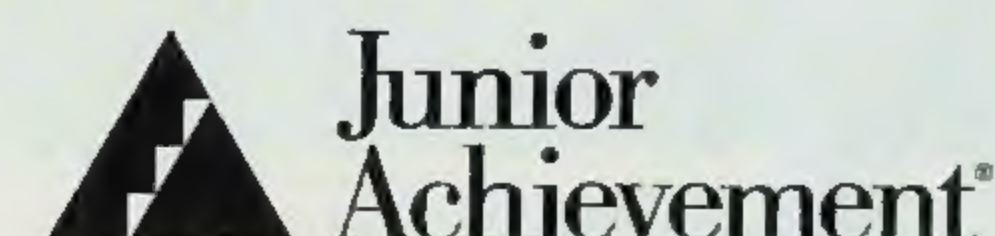


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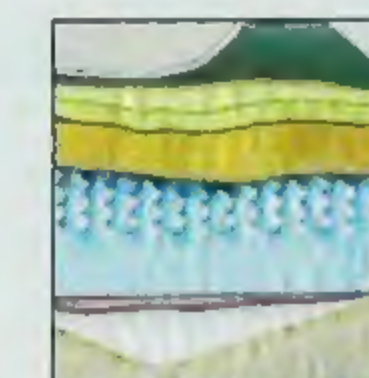
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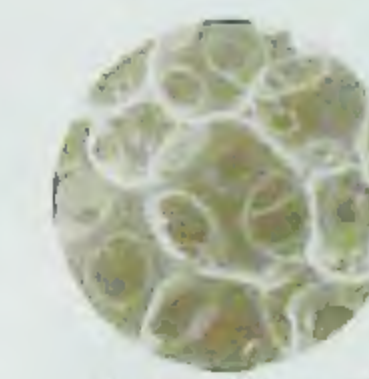
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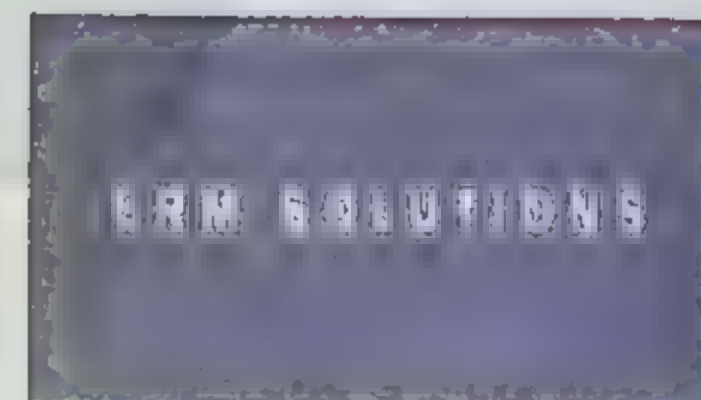
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NOTEBOOK

VERBATIM

“Evil knows no holiday.”

GEORGE W. BUSH,
*on why the White House will
be closed to Christmas tours*

“I grew up in Detroit,
and I hated the police
with a passion. They
were always stopping
and bothering me.”

ANDREW KIRKLAND,
*Portland, Ore., acting police
chief, refusing an FBI request
that police interview young
Middle Eastern men on visas*

“Cara, if anyone tries to
tell you that this is the type
of justice your grandpa
would embrace, don't you
believe it.”

KERRY KENNEDY CUOMO,
*daughter of Robert Kennedy,
to her daughter, on Bush's anti-
terror policies, just after Bush
named Justice HQ for R.F.K.*

“It is not our proudest
product placement. But it
shows that the Taliban is
looking for the same
qualities as any truck buyer:
durability and reliability.”

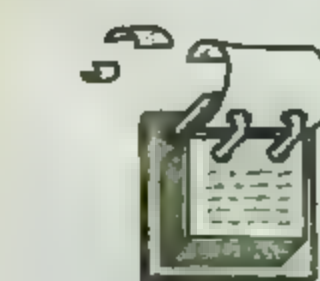
WADE HOYT,
*Toyota spokesman, defending
the pickup choice of Afghans*

Sources: N.Y. Daily News, N.Y. Times, AP, N.Y. Times



CHIEF SNOOP Searching for a break in the case, Attorney General John Ashcroft has sought to expand his investigation into the Sept. 11 attacks. But his vow to find and question 5,000 mostly Middle Eastern men has drawn fire from civil libertarians and concern from some local police chiefs

More Anthrax, More Mystery



FOLLOW-UP

TWO MONTHS after the first cases of anthrax were diagnosed, the FBI still knows next to nothing about who has been spreading the disease through the mail and why—and the death of Otilie Lundgren of Oxford,

Conn., from inhalation anthrax makes things even more confusing. It's hard to imagine that the woman, 94, was a target. Her mailbox had no sign of the bacteria, and though her aging immune system may have been less resistant to spores than a younger person's, investigators are baffled. Unlike Kathy Nguyen, the New York City hospital worker who died four weeks ago after



contracting an equally mysterious case of anthrax, Lundgren rarely left her house. The FBI hopes that retracing her forays will lead to a clue as to where she picked up the bug.

Meanwhile, FBI investigators are exploring new theories of who might be behind the anthrax terror. One idea: the culprit had collected the spores a while ago but did not send them until pushed over the edge, perhaps by the events of Sept. 11. “Did somebody close to him get killed in the World Trade Center, in the Pentagon or on one of the planes?” asks an investigator. Still, that does not explain Otilie Lundgren. —By Michael Lomonick
Reported by Elaine Shannon

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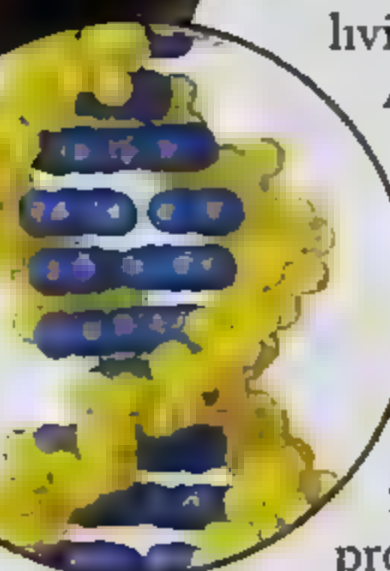
NOTEBOOK



ID'ing a Corpse? Call in the DNA

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS SAID he wants Osama bin Laden dead or alive, but there's one problem with getting him dead: how to positively identify a tall, bearded corpse as the real evildoer. FBI lab experts stand ready to run DNA tests on the remains. But they don't have a sample of DNA known to have come

from bin Laden. The solution? Officials say they will seek tissue samples from his immediate relatives, most of whom, including his mother, are living in Saudi Arabia.



Matching what's known as mitochondrial DNA to that of his mother would provide the most definitive identification, since bin Laden is thought to be the only child of his mother and the bin Laden family patriarch, who has many wives. The chief stumbling block may be the willingness of the Saudi regime to allow the DNA hunt. Just another challenge for U.S. diplomacy.

The First Three Indictments

WHO WILL BE THE FIRST person indicted for conspiracy in the Sept. 11 attacks? Most say it will be Zacarias Moussaoui, a French-Moroccan arrested for immigration violations in Minnesota last August after he sought lessons in piloting a commercial jetliner. But U.S. prosecutors are targeting two other suspects for early indictments. One is Mustafa Ahmad, also known as Shaykh Said, an Egyptian believed to have served as paymaster and field commander for the Sept. 11 attacks. Investigators have traced \$100,000 from a bank account in Dubai controlled by Ahmad to Mohamed Atta,



suspected of orchestrating the attacks. The other is Ramzi Binalshibh, pictured here, a Yemeni who once lived in Hamburg with Atta and who the FBI believes was the 20th hijacker, who was supposed to have been aboard United Flight 93, which crashed in Pennsylvania. The whereabouts of

Ahmad and Binalshibh, however, are unknown. U.S. authorities believe they may be hiding in one of the remaining al-Qaeda strongholds in Afghanistan. But even if they aren't, prosecutors want indictments on the record as soon as possible. If either turns up in another country, local police will then have the legal authority to detain him while the Justice Department builds a case for his extradition to the U.S.

30-SECOND BRIEFING A Spanish judge released a preliminary indictment of eight men, alleged to be members of an al-Qaeda terrorist cell. **LINKED TO SEPT. 11?** Possibly. Phone records show calls to the cell's leader in August from a purported Sept. 11 conspirator who talked of having "entered the field of aviation." And suspected hijacking ringleader Mohamed Atta may have met the accused on a visit to Spain in July. **COINCIDENCE?** Six of the eight arrested come from Aleppo, Syria, the city on which Atta wrote his urban-planning thesis. **PROBLEM** Spain says it won't extradite the suspects to the U.S. if they are tried in military tribunals.

Al-Qaeda's Paper Trail



SPY WATCH

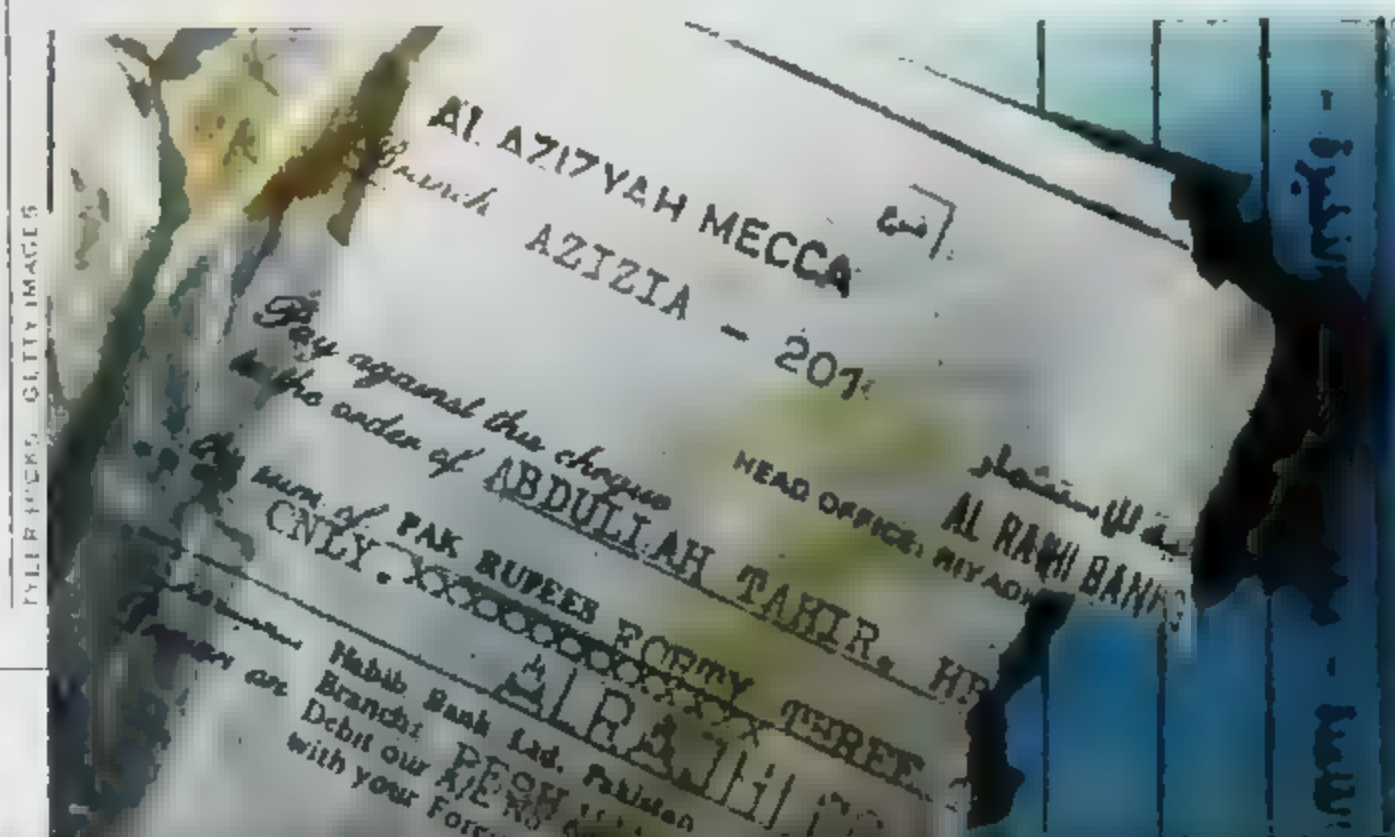
SOME OF THE most valuable residue of the Taliban collapse in Afghanistan may turn out to be paper. FBI, CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency officials have quietly mounted a crash intelligence project to collect and analyze attendance rosters, pay ledgers, letters from home and other paperwork in bombed-out al-Qaeda training camps. From these and other sources, counterterror specialists are racing to assemble a master list

of thousands of radical jihadists who studied and bonded at the camps, then scattered around the globe to form "sleeping cells." "A lot of documents have been left behind, and we've got to get our hands on that stuff," says an official. To that end, orders have gone out to military and CIA personnel on the ground to preserve every scrap

found, down to notes from wives and scribbles on matchbooks. Yet even with a list of names, intelligence agents will have a daunting task. Ahmed Ressay, an Algerian al-Qaeda operative who turned government witness after being convicted of a plot to blow up Los Angeles International Airport during the millennium

celebrations, has told the FBI that camp officials banned the use of real names and handed out aliases. U.S. counterterror experts hope to pierce this security veil by showing photos of suspected jihadists to Afghans who worked in the camps as cooks, drivers, translators, bookkeepers and in other positions but who have turned against the Arab al-Qaeda followers. They will also be asked to describe unusual scars, missing fingers and other physical characteristics of terrorists they knew in the camps. All this information will go into a database to be shared among allied intelligence and law-enforcement agencies.

—By Elaine Shannon



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NOTEBOOK



Arafat Frozen Out? Yes and No

CAN MIDDLE EAST PEACE BE brokered without Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat? For the short term, at least, Israel is trying. Israeli Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer tells *TIME* that his country is bypassing Arafat as part of a strategy to strike direct cease-fire deals with local Palestinian power brokers. Last month in the divided city of Hebron, West Bank security chief Jibril Rajoub agreed to keep order in the Abu Snehneh neighborhood in return for Israel's pulling out troops and tanks. Last week—just days before Israelis killed a leading Hamas military leader

suspected of terrorism—Ben-Eliezer oversaw similar deals in the Palestinian cities of Tulkarem and Kalkilya.

Israel's new tactic comes on the heels of the failed Sept. 26 cease-fire reached by Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. Blaming Arafat for ensuing West Bank violence that left nearly 200 dead, Ben-Eliezer says Israel has chosen to work with "dignified leaders" instead. Nevertheless, Palestinian sources say Arafat is not out of the loop. They claim he is secretly okaying every deal and in fact sees an upside: local truces allow for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian neighborhoods without his commitment to a full cease-fire.

—By Matt Rees

The Art of The Backstab

WHEN U.S. PROSECUTORS indicted Sotheby's and Christie's, the country's pre-eminent auction houses, in a price-fixing scheme earlier this year, observers were giddy at the prospect of watching the high-toned lead players testify against each other in court. Last week Diana Brooks, Sotheby's elegant, blond ex-president, who was once considered the most powerful woman in the art world, did not disappoint.

Brooks, who pleaded guilty last year to antitrust conspiracy and agreed to testify for the government, charged that her former boss, A.

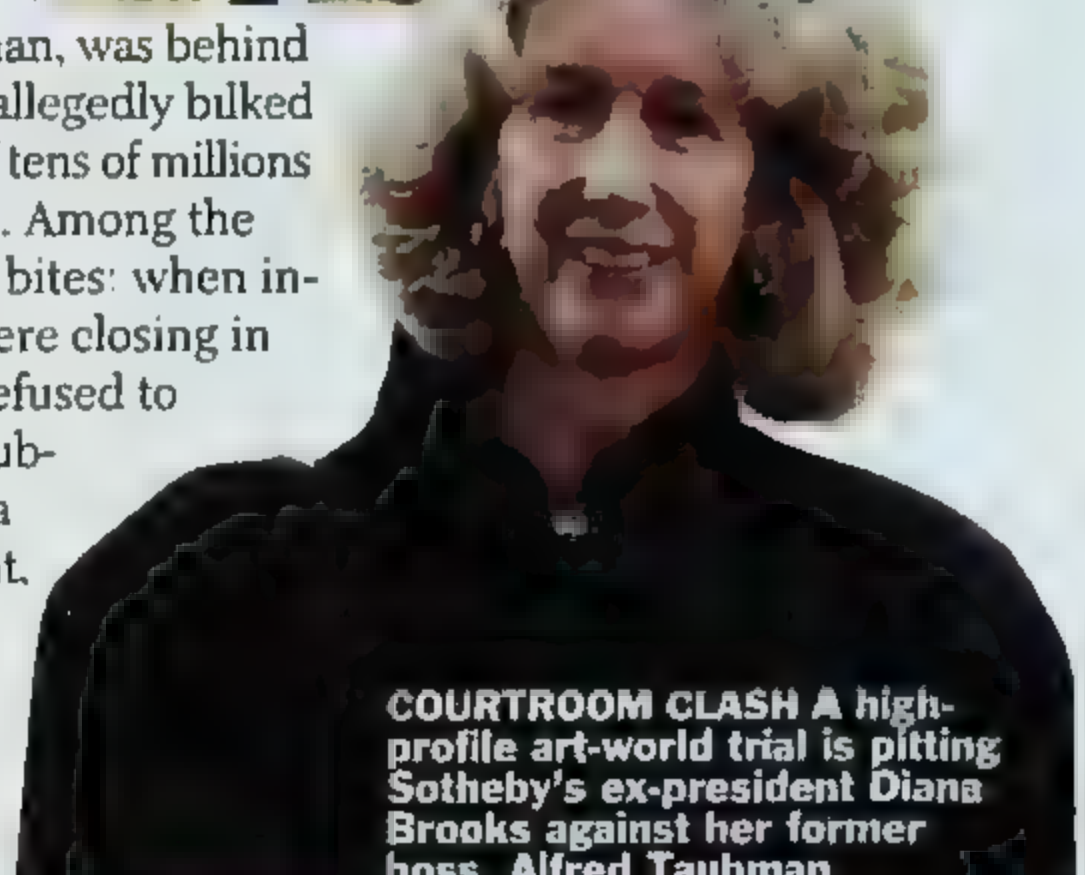
Alfred Taubman, was behind the plan that allegedly bulked patrons out of tens of millions over six years. Among the juicier sound bites: when investigators were closing in and Brooks refused to meet with Taubman without a lawyer present, she testified, Taubman told her, "Just don't act like a

girl." On the same occasion, she said, Taubman held up a photograph of her and warned, "You'll look good in stripes."

The scrappy Taubman—a shopping-mall tycoon who bought the art house in 1983—has denied the charges and asserted that Brooks was responsible for the scheme. He could take the stand this week, when the defense continues its case. Like Brooks, he faces up to three years in prison and fines of \$350,000. And if the courtroom scrapping sounds good enough

to be on TV, rest assured it soon will be. Sigourney Weaver has already been cast to play Brooks in an upcoming HBO movie.

—By Harriet Barovick



COURTROOM CLASH A high-profile art-world trial is pitting Sotheby's ex-president Diana Brooks against her former boss, Alfred Taubman

THE DRAWING BOARD



Mike Luckovich for *TIME*

Christmas Present

Briefly, deliriously, it seemed like old times, as a surprisingly hearty *ka-ching* kicked off the holiday shopping season. But unlike those of Christmases past, this boom was driven by deep discounts and a spate of patriotic buying—just two signs of how the shadow of Sept. 11 and a bad economy are altering this year's Yuletide.

—By Sora Song and Deirdre van Dyk

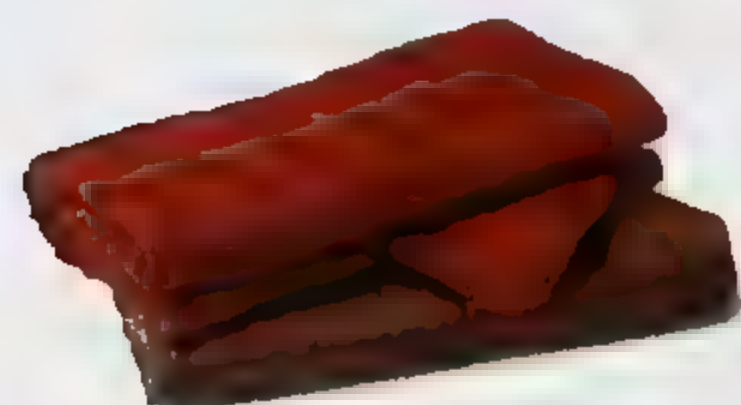


THE OFFICE PARTY Partying like it's 1999? No one else is. One study says firms will spend 15%-75% less this year on holiday affairs, as once lavish fêtes are drastically downscaled (example: at Estée Lauder, talk of holding potluck lunches) or money once spent on celebration goes to charity. One sign of revelry in reverse: champagne makers fear holiday sales may be as flat as day-old Cristal.

AT THE STORES Outside, windows reflect a new mood, above; inside, it's a buyer's market as some chains quietly allow haggling, stores increase sale goods 15% and one Manhattan boutique offers free massage. Even chilly Bergdorf Goodman is playing to whim—and wallet—with free drinks, TVs airing sports and its first ever Santa Claus.



SPIRITUALITY Houses of worship have already seen attendance rise as much as 10%, but God is also in Aisle 2: Bibles have been moving off shelves in record numbers, and at Neiman Marcus, top-selling necklaces include a cross pendant, above, and a gold-and-diamond horseshoe, for good luck.



GIFTS Silk quilts, candles, karaoke machines. What do they have in common? They're "cocooning" gifts, which retailers expect will satisfy the post-Sept. 11 craving for comfort and, yes, quality family time. Sales of DVD players, this year's hottest stay-at-home splurge, have already surged nearly 50% over last year.



TOYS Beyond the Xbox, it's a time for throwbacks, as kids turn to GI Joe, old-fashioned rescue heroes (Fisher-Price's fire-fighting Billy Blazes, right), even '70s-era color-and-bake plastic Shrinky Dinks (nostalgia appeals to baby boomers). One sign of patriotic times? Kay-Bee Toys reports an unexpected best-seller: an interactive quiz game on U.S. Presidents.



Q+A Jeff Zucker

The surprise success of CBS's Michael Jackson concert and ABC's Victoria's Secret special showed that TV audiences will still flock to big—or fleshy—TV events. Jeff Zucker, NBC's entertainment chief, talked to TIME about how TV is faring in the post-Sept. 11 world.

Q: Have viewing habits changed since Sept. 11?

A: People have gravitated to the familiar, comfortable and serious, and have had less patience for the frivolous. I think that's why the reality shows have suffered. *Friends*, *ER*, *The West Wing* and *Law & Order* are at all-time highs.

Q: How is *The West Wing* going to stay relevant?

A: People get their dose of 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. every night on the nightly news, and actually are O.K. to get lost in a fictional drama.

Q: Some people say NBC's "quality" image has been muddled by shows you've introduced like *Fear Factor* and *Weakest Link*.

A: We have to broadcast 22 hours a week, and you can't afford, either creatively or financially, to do 22 hours of *The West Wing*. Am I worried that we sullied our reputation? No.

Q: Is Anne Robinson as mean to the celebrities on *Weakest Link* as she is to ordinary people?

A: Actually, we've changed *Weakest Link* a little bit. It's less of an edgy show, and it plays much more like a comedy because of the way we've dressed it up with celebrities and stunts. Now you see Anne laughing all the time and having fun.

Q: Would NBC ever run the Victoria's Secret special?

A: I'm all in favor of escapist television. I'm not sure we would escape that far.

FRED RICH M. BROWN—GETTY IMAGES

COURTESY POTTERY BARN

BUSINESS TRENDS NOVEMBER

THE IDEAL BLEND: COMPAQ & STARBUCKS

Partnership Will Create Breakthrough Wireless Customer Experience

Compaq and Starbucks have announced a five-year strategic relationship in which Compaq will provide the infrastructure provider for a retail store and corporate headquarters. Starbucks Coffee Company is the leading retailer, roaster and brand of specialty coffee in the world with more than 4,800 stores worldwide and 50,000 employees. The two companies will not together to blend technology and lifestyle, thereby enhancing the Starbucks mobile computing growth.

Starbucks locations across North America Compaq, a worldwide leader in mobile computing devices, has been named the mobile Internet access device provider for the wireless broadband network. In the future, Starbucks customers will be able to enjoy ages while accessing broadband content and services or downloading music images. Compaq mobile devices such as mobile PCs, PDAs, Pocket PCs, and other handheld devices will be used to enhance the Starbucks mobile computing experience.

This agreement allows us to take advantage of Compaq's remarkable breadth and depth of technology and services to create a new kind of customer experience. Starbucks is proud to partner with Compaq on this exciting new venture, which will enhance the Starbucks mobile computing experience.

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Compaq and British Airways offer wireless solutions for business travelers at JFK.

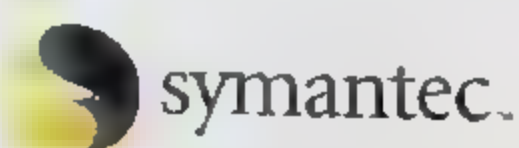
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M I L E S T O N E S



MARRIED. **GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS**, 40, Clinton adviser turned ABC pundit, to actress **ALEXANDRA WENTWORTH**, 36; at a Greek Orthodox church in New York City. Absent among the guests: the groom's former boss, with whom Stephanopoulos fell out after the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

DIED. CHARLES CRENSHAW, 68, one of the doctors who treated John F. Kennedy's gunshot wounds; of natural causes; in Fort Worth, Texas. In his controversial 1992 book, *JFK: Conspiracy of Silence*, Crenshaw argued that the President was shot twice from the front in addition to having been shot from behind—suggesting the involvement of more than one gunman. The Warren Commission had found that a lone Lee Harvey Oswald fired from behind.



DIED. GARDNER MCKAY, 69, TV heartthrob who left show business to become a successful playwright; of prostate cancer; in Oahu, Hawaii. When his South Seas series, *Adventures in Paradise*, ended in the early '60s, he turned down Marilyn Monroe's plea that he appear in her never finished film *Something's Got to Give*. After living in the Amazon, McKay wrote dozens of plays, including



Sea Marks, and the well-received 1999 novel *Touey*.

DIED. TOMMY FLANAGAN, 71, refined, influential jazz pianist who accompanied Ella Fitzgerald for more than a decade; of an arterial aneurysm; in New York City. Born in Detroit, Flanagan developed his signature fluid yet concise style in the house band of that city's storied Blue Bird Inn before playing with Fitzgerald for the first time in 1956. In the late '80s he formed his own trios, recording the acclaimed albums *Let's* and *Jazz Poet*.

DIED. HARRISON WILLIAMS, 81, New Jersey's only Democratic Senator to have been elected to four terms, who lobbied for labor and education before going to prison for involvement in the 1981 Abscam scandal; of heart disease; in Denville, N.J. Last year President Clinton rejected his pardon request.

▼ **DIED.** **MARY KAY ASH**, 83, flashy, homespun cosmetics executive who helped push Mary Kay Inc. to sales of more than \$1.2 billion last year; of natural causes; in Dallas. She started her company in 1963 with \$5,000, after her male assistant at a direct-sales company was promoted at twice her salary. "I

couldn't believe God meant a woman's brain to bring 50¢ on the dollar," she said. Famously generous, Ash rewarded her loyal sales force of 40,000 with finks, diamonds, and her trademark pink Cadillacs.

59 Years Ago in TIME

Concerns about the civil liberties of Arab Americans stem in part from drastic steps the government took during World War II, when Japanese Americans were forcibly moved to **INTERMENT CAMPS**. In an issue with a cover story on Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla, *TIME* wrote of one of the first groups sent away.



Pasadena's Rose Bowl looked like a second-hand auto park. In the chill dawn, 140 battered cars and sagging trucks huddled, piled high with furniture, bundles, gardening tools. At 6:30 a.m. they chuffed and spluttered, wheeled into line, and started rolling. Led by a goggled policeman on a motorcycle, a jeep and three command cars full of newsmen, they headed for the dark.

towering mountains to the east. Thus, last week, the first compulsory migration in U.S. history set out for Manzanar, in California's desolate Owens Valley. In the cavalcade were some 300 Japanese aliens and Nisei—U.S. citizens of Japanese blood ... In the unfinished, tar-papered dormitories where they will live until the war ends, they made their beds on mattress ticking filled with straw ... Some projects with which the Army may keep its guests busy: laying broad-gauge track on the railway down the valley; driving a highway across the Sierras ... In San Francisco's Little Tokyo, store fronts were plastered with huge signs, proclaiming, "Evacuation Sale." In one window, under the sign, hung a red-white-&-blue poster: God bless America, the land we love.

—TIME, April 6, 1942

FOR THE RECORD



3,682 Number of people missing or dead in the World Trade Center attacks as of Nov. 23, according to city officials

79,000 Number of jobs lost in New York City in October, the largest one-month decline on record

\$1.17 Average price per gallon of gasoline nationwide, 55¢ lower than the year's high in May

87% Percentage of the 34.6 million Americans journeying at least 50 miles this Thanksgiving who traveled by car—an all-time high

22.9% Increase in Weight Watchers stock price, which opened at \$24, on the company's first day of public trading



1 Number of pounds the average American gains during the holiday season—a contrast to the 5-to-10-lb. gain of popular belief

\$25 million Reward offered by the U.S. to Afghan citizens for information leading to the capture of Osama bin Laden

\$2 million Reward offered by the U.S. that led to the capture of Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind behind the 1993 World Trade Center bombing

Sources: New York City Mayor's Office; New York City Comptroller's Office; AAA (2); Reuters; AP; New York Times; AP.

THE POWER OF CARING

When Michael J. Fox left his role on ABC's *Spin City* in spring of 2000 after 18 years as one of America's favorite television stars, he said he needed a breather. The degenerative conditions accompanying his Parkinson's disease—fatigue, painful stiffness and tremors—had made the 14-hour days of the show's production more grueling than ever.



"I've taken the love, interest and respect people have given me and hopefully directed it to real, tangible progress."

But retirement, Fox says, "is a joke. I've never worked as hard as I have in the last year." Since giving up full-time TV work, the himself to raising funds his Michael J. Fox Foun-

His goal: nothing short of a cure. The foundation has awarded \$1.5 million in grants to doctors and scientists researching treatments, and it will partner with the National Institutes of Health to give another \$8 million by the end of the year. "It's a fantastic feeling, but it's just a start," says Fox, who likes the fact that the possibilities for research outweigh the available funding. "You don't want to make a big stack of money and have nowhere to spend it."

Along with attending foundation fund-raisers—a gala night of comedy on Dec. 8 in New York City is called “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Cure Parkinson’s”—Fox has twice testified before Congress (*pictured*). “If we all do everything we can to eradicate this disease, in my 50s I’ll be dancing at my children’s weddings,” the 40-year-old said in a 1999 visit to Capitol Hill. Advocates estimate the appearance generated a \$10 million increase in federal aid. He also has starred in public service announcements, laced up his sneakers for the

Parkinson's Unity Walk
in New York City and
led the foundation's
board meetings.

Fox jokes that when he's with show business people, "I've got a pretty good shot at being one of the brighter people in the room. If I'm in a room full of neuroscientists, it's best for me to just look busy." Despite his modesty, he has worked to understand the research the foundation gathers in the grant-making process and learn as much as he can about a disease afflicting more than a million Americans.

"It's amazing to me how much knowledge he has," says Dr. J. William Langston, the foundation's chief scientific adviser. "The other thing that's impressed me is the absolute integrity in the quality of the foundation's work and the way it is managed." Adds executive director Debi Brooks, "People who send us checks every week in the mail, visit our website, call our 800 number and make donations are touched by Michael's presence, and I think they sense his sincerity for this mission."

Fox, in turn, is touched by them. He says he has been overwhelmed by the outpouring of support since his 1998 announcement that he has Parkinson's.

"I've taken the love, interest and respect people have given me and hopefully directed it to real, tangible good and recordable progress," he says. "We've heard that a cure could happen within a decade. We would like to be out of business in a decade." Maybe then he can really retire.—*Brad Young*

For information or contributions: Michael J. Fox Foundation
for Parkinson's Research, Grand Central Station, P.O. Box
4777, New York, NY 10163, (800) 708-7644, www.michaeljfox.org

To read other Power of Caring stories, visit www.cnnsi.com/caring

2001 T-100-11 Photo courtesy Michael J. Fox Foundation for Parkinson's Research

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SHELL GAME

As the U.S. hunts bin Laden, the Afghans take turns surrendering, switching sides and killing one another

By JOHANNA MCGEARY

EVEN THOUGH THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE COMMANDERS in Mazar-i-Sharif knew what was coming, they were taken by surprise. As dawn came Saturday, word spread that the besieged Taliban had broken out of its last northern refuge, Kunduz city to the east, and was advancing on Mazar, attacking security posts as it moved. General Rashid Dostum called his fellow commanders to a hasty meeting as Alliance fighters converged on the dusty square outside, readying their pickups and rocket launchers for battle. A small unit of American special forces arrived, and their commander slipped inside. A few minutes later, the Alliance chiefs jumped into their jeeps and sped across the desert, trailed by 5,000 troops. Dostum scrambled up an ancient mud mound and raised his binoculars: on the horizon a thin line of black dots showed where the Taliban was waiting.

It had come not to fight but to surrender. But the Taliban was early, and its premature arrival had panicked Alliance pickets guarding the road from Kunduz. All week long the Taliban in the city had seesawed between giving up and fighting to the death. No wonder no one was sure this was the real thing. Only on Sunday did the Alliance claim to enter Kunduz.

The confusion over Kunduz reflected the nature of the Afghans' opportunistic arrangements and the difficulties they raise in translating military success into enduring peace. Encircled for more than a week by 30,000 Northern Alliance troops, Taliban leaders turned to the time-honored art of the deal. The Northern Alliance was just as eager to avoid an internecine bloodbath. That is the Afghan way of war, where changing sides is as habitual as combat, and victories are often measured in defections, not dead men.

So last Wednesday night Mullah Fazil, Taliban com-

DISARMING A Northern Alliance soldier takes a rocket launcher from a surrendering Taliban fighter on the Khanabad front





ALEXANDRA BOULAT—VILL FOR TIME

THE WAR

mander of northern Afghanistan, leader of the 13,000-strong Kunduz garrison and deputy of supreme leader Mullah Mohammed Omar, drove into Dostum's mud-walled fortress to talk surrender. The two men and armed aides shared vast plates of *qabeli*, the Afghan staple of rice and mutton, and bowls of pistachios, to break the Ramadan fast. "They were laughing and chatting," commander Mohammad Anwar Qureishi, one of the Alliance leaders present, told *TIME*, "and hours before, they had wanted to kill each other."

After the meal Dostum took Fazil aside to arrange the details: the one hang-up was the fate of thousands of Pakistanis, Arabs, Chechens and al-Qaeda stalwarts in the city, who had vowed to die fighting—even to kill Taliban who tried to give up. A deal was cut: if Fazil could ensure that the entire force surrendered, Dostum would give all of them—including the foreign contingent—safe passage across the country to Kandahar, the Taliban stronghold far to the south. Dostum didn't care what hap-

pened to them once they left his area. That was hardly an outcome the U.S. could like. The one thing Washington cared about was that al-Qaeda and non-Afghan fighters in Kunduz be captured or killed. Pakistan, on the other hand, wanted to prevent a slaughter of its nationals who had flocked to the Taliban banner; there were unconfirmed tales of Pakistani planes landing in the night to spirit disillusioned volunteers away.

But out in the choking desert dust on Saturday, it was hard to tell exactly who was giving up: Taliban Afghans, the foreign fighters or both. For three hours arguments flared. "The Taliban are finished," said Abdul Razaq, 20, who had defected to the Alliance just three days earlier and boasted of how much television he had watched since switching sides. "The American bombing was terrifying. All of them wanted to surrender." Hundreds of fighters poured out of the city, throwing themselves into the arms of their enemies. "Welcome!" shouted a commander who expected all Afghan Taliban fighters to surrender by the end of the day.

As night fell, no one was sure where

the foreign fighters were. Some Alliance commanders had promised that foreigners who surrendered would be held in detention or handed over to the U.N. Turncoats reported most of the foreigners were still preparing to fight the Alliance army. "Kunduz will fall tonight," declared an unmoved Dostum on Saturday. "We will accept whoever comes to us, but any who don't will be killed." Ignoring American observers hovering nearby, Dostum made no effort to sort through his defectors. "The Americans have their views, and I have mine," he told *TIME*. "What the Americans want is unimportant. It's my decision that counts." Now, he said, it was time for those who surrendered to lay down their guns and go home.

Watching the situation evolve beyond their control, U.S. officials attempted to draw a red line: the Afghan Taliban could go free, but foreign fighters and al-Qaeda leaders could not. In Washington, Pentagon spokeswoman Victoria Clarke hinted the U.S. might use military force to stop any wholesale evacuation of the diehards. In public, the Administration remained confident that the bad guys would be

rounded up by more cooperative Northern Alliance commanders. But the muddle in Kunduz was just one more reminder that in Afghanistan, victory today can look a lot like defeat tomorrow. Last week, after the heady military successes of the Northern Alliance had roused expectations that the war would swiftly wrap up, the country lapsed perilously close to chaos.

The Taliban was down but hardly out. Mullah Omar vowed to hold Kandahar until Judgment Day, while loyalists led by hard-line Arab fighters dug strong pockets of resistance near Jalalabad. In the liberated zones, the re-emergence of rival warlords threatened to turn the clock back to the time when the same commanders fought for power so viciously that Afghan citizens welcomed the cruel security of Taliban rule. The Pashtun fled from the north, alarmed that unruly Northern Alliance troops might exact bloody reprisals. Civilians living near terrorist hideouts in the south fled American bombs. Taliban resisters and plain bandits stalked the roads leading to Kabul, where armed gunmen ambushed a journalists' convoy and shot four of them dead.

Yet Washington watched it all with a

startling detachment, a view refracted through its focus on Osama bin Laden. While the Bush Administration cares about stabilizing Afghanistan, its first interest is eliminating the master terrorist. So far, officials don't think the situation on the ground is impeding the pursuit. In some ways, the chaos even played to the U.S.'s advantage. "Our priorities have much more to do with finding bin Laden," says an intelligence official. "If it's Afghans killing Afghans, that doesn't hurt us as much as Americans killing Afghans."

Administration officials seemed surprisingly comfortable with surfing the instability. While European allies pleaded to rush in to prevent mayhem, the Bush Administration preferred to wait and see (irritating best pal Tony Blair, who wanted to deploy hundreds of British peacekeepers). "They're not devolving into slaughter," a senior State Department official said of the warlords. Washington saw only minimal intertribal fighting, so the smart play was to sit back and let Afghan leaders run things for now.

Despite its reputation for brutality, the Northern Alliance was behaving better than expected. "We've been impressed by the way they comported themselves in Kabul," says the State official, "and we have reason to believe they'll take a constructive role in Bonn," where the main factions meet this week to thrash out a power-sharing arrangement. Washington will do business with the warlords, however thuggish or politically grasping they

SURRENDER Taliban fighters in pickup trucks prepare to give up the battle near Kunduz last Thursday
NEW ALLIANCE A Taliban defector and a Northern Alliance soldier, below, share a ride near Kunduz



THE WAR

might be. That's partly by necessity but also because the Pentagon wants people in power with enough authority to locate bin Laden and assist in killing him.

The Administration's biggest worry is bin Laden's slipping away. "It's reasonable to assume he has a Plan B as to his own safety," says the intelligence official. The Pentagon is watching the mountain passes along the south and west of Afghanistan's long, porous border with Pakistan, and pushing the Islamabad government to mount stringent patrols. The search concentrated last week on the ridges of Tora Bora, just southwest of Jalalabad, where a thousand or so Arab fighters were holed up. Last month Afghans passing through reported spotting bin Laden near the Tora Bora bunker built by *mujahedin* in the 1980s. Washington ordered the Navy to board any ship officers suspect might be ferrying bin Laden abroad. But when it comes to covering the ratholes, this official admits, "We're just guessing."

Still, it must be comforting to have so single-minded a purpose. But there is more to Phase I of the war on terror than the demise of bin Laden or even the defeat of the Taliban. The collateral damage from those objectives has reduced Afghanistan to a nation where warlordism, betrayal and defection are again the order of the day. After 22 years of perpetual war, Afghans no longer trust any army on their territory. What they long for is security.

Across the liberated provinces, Afghans have feared a return to pre-Taliban civil strife. Pashtun farmers have lived in

the northern plains around Mazar-i-Sharif for a century, but now many have had enough. With 32 other families, a farmer named Saidu walked for 15 days through cannon fire and biting wind to reach a bleak refugee camp in the Pashtun desert of the south. "I've suffered too much," he said. "I'm not going back up north, not if [Northern Alliance leader Burhanuddin] Rabbani is ruler or Dostum. They'll kill us Pashtun." The country could yet fracture along north-south lines as tribes coalesce in their home regions.

Saidu has some reason to run from Mazar, where thousands have died each time the city changed hands. Last week Red Cross workers found nearly 600 bodies, killed in fighting or executed. The manner in which Mazar emerges from Taliban rule could signal how Afghanistan will fare at peace.

For a few days the city celebrated its liberation, but soon the victorious commanders zeroed in on the spoils. While Dostum, an Uzbek, held court at his Kalai Jangi fortress to the southeast, Tajik leader Atta Mohammed and Hazara chief Haji Mohammed Mohaqiq set themselves up in palatial villas in their own quarters of the city. In public all three insist their convenient alliance is holding as they empty Mazar of armed men and set up a joint security force.

But night tells a different story. Once the sun sets, residents scurry inside their high-walled houses as gunfire resounds across the city until dawn. Few people venture out of their neighborhoods, divided into Atta, Dostum and Mohaqiq ghettos. Two men were killed one night when a patrol of Atta's soldiers clashed with a group

WITHOUT REFUGE

As the Taliban clings to its final outposts and Afghanistan's tribal warlords jockey for power, hundreds of thousands of refugees face a harsh, hungry winter

Approximate area of Taliban control, Nov. 24
Relief convoys
Refugee concentrations



Sources: United Nations; U.S. Defense Department; Reuters; Associated Press; Agence France-Presse; news reports; East View Cartographic; www.cartographic.com
TIME Map by Jackson Dyleman and Joe Lortie



PLEA FOR ORDER Alliance leader Dostum, center, brokers a deal in Mazar-i-Sharif

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FAMOUS AMERICAN
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FAMOUS AMERICAN
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WHEREVER PARTICULAR
PEOPLE CONGREGATE

WHEREVER PARTICULAR
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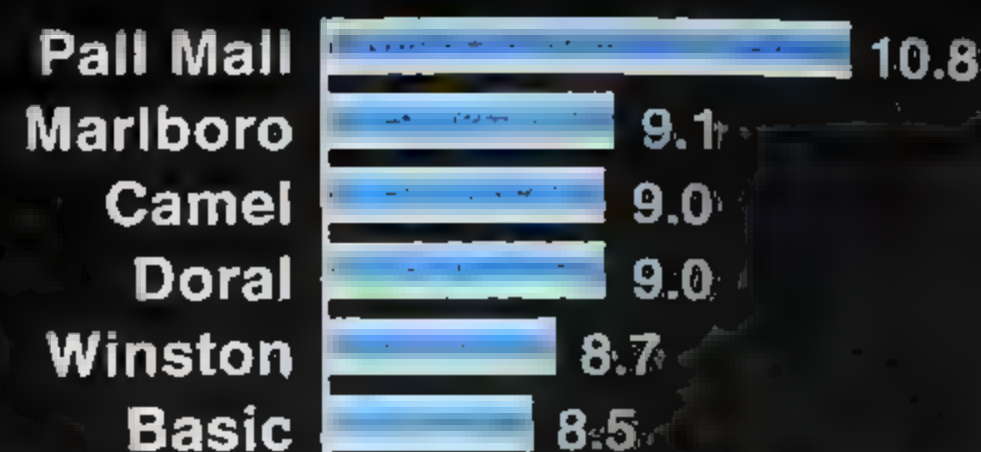
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THE WAR

of Mohaqiq's men stealing a car. The same night Hazaras hijacked a taxi and beat up the driver. "It's just like it was before the Taliban were here," said the injured man.

After two decades of fighting, suspicion and betrayal are still the guiding principles for any smart operator. "No alliance ever lasts for long," explains a Dostum

aide. That only underscores how difficult it will be for negotiators, who gather this week in Bonn's Hotel Petersberg, to get over years of mistrust. The U.S. proposal is for a loose central government composed of an executive council run by 10 to 20 warlords and other political personages. Such a preservation of the status quo is unlikely to bring stability, even if the Afghans accepted it. The Pashtun suspect the Northern Alliance wants only to validate

its power, with no intention of broadening it. The Alliance warned that the Bonn session is only "symbolic," while its commanders furtively try to outmaneuver one another. Any unity achieved could prove fragile. Says a senior Pentagon officer: "These guys change sides like we change socks." —*Reported by Massimo Calabresi and Mark Thompson/Washington, Anthony Davis and Terry McCarthy/Kabul, Tim McGirk/Spin Boldak and Alex Perry/Mazar-i-Sharif*

MAZAR-I-SHARIF

Hunger and Despair in the Camps

Abdul Jabbar wants to die. Squatting beside his wife's unconscious body, his 12 children and grandchildren huddled around him in a tiny, open tent of sticks and stitched sacks, the 65-year-old brushes away tears as he describes his prospects in the coming Afghan winter. Freezing rain and snow will cover the Dehdadi camp on the southern outskirts of Mazar-i-Sharif, home to 15,000 refugees. Temperatures will drop to 5°F, and the filthy roadside ditch from which the refugees fetch their gray fetid water will freeze.

Already the ground is too hard to dig graves. Instead, the bodies of those killed by starvation, dehydration, disease or exposure are covered with earth and weighed down with stones against dust storms. During the summer, Abdul Jabbar sold for food all his family's clothes that weren't rags. Now his children can't sleep because of the cold, unless, like his wife beside him, they faint from hunger. So Abdul Jabbar hopes death will end their agony—and quickly, as it did for his son Jaan Mohammed, 12, who stepped on a land mine while collecting firewood. "We are already dying," Abdul Jabbar says. "I just want to die once instead of this dying a little every day. The Americans should have bombed us as well."

This is Afghanistan's

hidden refugee crisis. The country's despair has left more than a quarter of its 26 million people in need of food. The desperate and malnourished refugees who get to camps on the border with Pakistan are the lucky ones. In the north, hundreds of thousands are trapped behind front lines in the remote and barren central highlands. Tens of thousands more are in western Afghanistan.

water, many have surely perished. Now, with the Taliban's retreat, the way to better-supplied camps near Pakistan is open—but many of the refugees are too weak and poor to make it. "A lot of them are going to die," says Stephan Goetghebuer of Médecins sans Frontières. "The children and the old first, then the others." In a bitter irony, thousands of tons of food,



Refugees fleeing the war zone are in desperate need of food

After three years of drought, five years of failed harvests and 22 years of war, the refugees have exhausted their meager savings and killed their livestock. In August the camps around Mazar-i-Sharif had a two-week supply of food. After Sept. 11 all aid was suspended as agencies withdrew; 230 have died in Dehdadi since then. Others have fled into the frozen mountains rather than live in a war zone. Without food or

clothes and medicine are stockpiled about 100 miles away, across the border in Uzbekistan. But that country's bureaucracy, which fears an influx of refugees and Islamic radicals, has managed to keep all but a few hundred tons from moving into Afghanistan. Aid that did get across, either from Uzbekistan or from Turkmenistan to the west, had to go through a gauntlet before it helped those who needed it most. Agencies

have to pay a "tax" to a military commander around every mountain pass. Pilfering is rife; Alliance soldiers and local aid workers divert much of the food, medicine and blankets to their families or to bazaars. To speed up the deliveries, aid workers plan to have hundreds of French soldiers secure a "humanitarian corridor" from Uzbekistan to Mazar-i-Sharif. But the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan brings its own difficulties. When word of the French reached Mazar-i-Sharif's bazaar, young men ran to fetch their guns to fight the "invaders."

Even if food arrives in time, it's too late to build shelters: mud walls need three weeks of warm sun to dry, and that won't come until spring. Of the 6 million in need, 3.4 million live in the north. "There has been a humanitarian crisis here for years," says Goetghebuer. "Now it's becoming a disaster."

Sah Mohammed, 75, has already watched a daughter-in-law, a 13-year-old son and a 10-year-old grandson starve in Dehdadi. By day his wife works as a baker in the city, returning with a few carrots or turnips that she divides between her remaining family of eight. "I used to be fat. I had a great fat neck," Sah Mohammed says, rubbing his scrawny nape. "After a while we ate leaves, but even those are gone now. Hunger has taken everything from us. Our family, our neighbors, our lives—and our hope."

—*By Alex Perry/Mazar-i-Sharif*



ABOUT FACE

AN INSIDE LOOK AT HOW WOMEN FARED UNDER TALIBAN OPPRESSION AND WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR THEM NOW

IN STRUGGLE Burka-clad demonstrators took to the streets of Kabul last week to demand rights for women

YANNIS BEHRAMIS/REUTERS

By RICHARD LACAYO

IN THE STREETS OF KABUL, YOU CAN see something these days that has not been glimpsed there for almost five years—women's faces. Now that the Taliban has fled the city, a few brave women have shed the burka—the head-to-toe garment, to Western eyes a kind of body bag for the living, made mandatory by the defeated religious leadership. Men sometimes look in astonishment at these faces, as if they were comets or solar eclipses. So do other women. From the moment in 1996 that the Taliban took power, it sought to make women not just obedient but nonexistent. Not just submissive but invisible. For five years, it almost succeeded.

The Taliban's ongoing collapse guarantees at least some improvement in the lives of Afghan women. They are emerging from the houses that they once could not leave except in the company of a male relative. Some are returning to the jobs they had to give up when the Taliban barred them from all employment except for a small number of health-care jobs dedicated to women. Even more remarkable, Kabul's sole television station now features a woman announcer. In a country where people were required to paint their windows black so that passersby could not see the face of any woman who might be at home, the announcer appears onscreen without a veil.

But just as the meltdown of Taliban military power has not brought real peace to Afghanistan, neither has the disappearance of its hated religious police brought women freedom overnight. Afghan society is tribal and conservative. Except for a small minority of educated professionals in Kabul, women have long been relegated to a subservient role. In rural areas of northern Afghanistan that are under the control of the Northern Alliance, the burka is still universal, though no law requires it. Even in Kabul, where Western-style skirts were not uncommon before the Taliban, many women say the burka is the least of their concerns. Dr. Rahima Zafar Staniczai, head of the Rabia Balkhi hospital for women, remembers how Taliban religious police would beat her in the street any time they caught her rushing to work uncovered: "They would hit us and spit on us, and then we would have to come in to the hospital to do our work." All the same, she says, what women wear is a secondary

UNVEILED A mother lifts her burka to speak to her daughter as they flee the battle-ravaged northern city of Kunduz



■ LIFTING THE VEIL

issue. She lists the real priorities. "First we need peace. Then we need a central government. Then we need education. After all that, we will be in a position to make a decision on the burka."

And even when something like peace and order returns to Afghanistan, just how sympathetic to the rights of women the next ruling order will be, no one can yet say. Women have not suffered the systematic oppression under the Northern Alliance that was the signature of Taliban rule. But the years the Alliance ruled all Afghanistan, 1992 to '96, are remembered by many Afghans for the brutality of the warlords. Some Alliance leaders are as hostile to notions of women's equality as any Taliban mullahs.

If the future is uncertain, the recent past is an all-too-well-substantiated fact. The Taliban made Afghanistan a laboratory for the systematic oppression of women. What it did will haunt that nation and the world for years to come.

THE WOMEN SPEAK

TO WESTERNERS, THE MOST VISIBLE SYMBOL of the Taliban's oppressive regime was the order that placed all women under the burka. Its long-standing place in Afghan culture is complicated. Many rural women, especially, claim to wear it willingly, at least when they speak in the presence of their husbands. There is even high fashion in burka wear. In Kabul, women allow a bit of lace trimming to show at the edge. The best burkas, from the Afghan city of Herat, have exquisite pleating that imparts a shimmering, watery feel but takes hours to iron.

But nearly any educated woman you speak to loathes the burka. So do many less educated ones—if you can question them where men cannot hear. The heavy cloth covering can induce panic, claustrophobia and headaches. It's a psychological hobbling of women that is akin to Chinese foot binding. It's also life threatening. Try negotiating a busy Kabul street—around donkey carts, careening buses and the Taliban roaring by in Datsun pickups—when your hearing is muffled and your vision is reduced to a narrow mesh grid.

What are Afghan women really like beneath the burka? Talk to three from Dasht-i-Qaleh, a tiny, impoverished village long held by the Northern Alliance. Though the Taliban's restrictions against women have no force here, nearly all the women wear the burka. Long-standing cultural tradition exercises its own police



ALTERED LIVES Rawshan, right, makes bread for other women in a bombed-out house in Kabul. Her husband was a successful farmer in the north until the Taliban destroyed their home



LEFT OUT In central Kabul, women shop for shoes outside the Bakhtar cinema, where the first film was shown after the fall of the Taliban. Women are still not allowed to go to the movies



RITE OF PASSAGE A young woman buys her first burka at a Kabul store last week. Women engage fashion by adding lace—a mild form of protest. This year's hot color is sky blue



TALENTED BEGINNING A taxi driver in Kabul starts at a woman in a blue burka and a shimmering headscarf. The woman is the Taliban's first

■ LIFTING THE VEIL

power. And though these women have agreed to speak to TIME correspondent Hannah Beech, they will do so only through a female interpreter. They worry that their husbands might object if they learned that a man was present at the interview. During the conversation, a man does briefly enter the room. The women all hasten to cover their faces and turn toward the wall until he leaves.

On the streets, you would never know that these silent, shapeless forms, encased in these shrouds, have any views at all. But outside the earshot of men, the women are fierce, alive and opinionated. And when they shed their burkas, they turn out to be wearing brightly colored dresses. All three say they would prefer not to wear a burka or even a head scarf but fear they would be harassed. Zora, 28, says she has heard that when women go to Mecca on the hajj, the pilgrimage that all Muslims are enjoined to attempt at least once, they do so with faces uncovered. "If women can show their faces in Islam's most holy place, then why must we cover ourselves in Afghanistan?" she asks.

Like the others, Saida, 27, received

no formal education, although her three daughters are enrolled in elementary school. Saida says her eldest daughter Nahid, 12, is getting ready for her betrothal to a 26-year-old farmer and does not have much time to spare for morning instruction. Besides, says Saida, Nahid tells her she learns at school that the Koran teaches her how to be a good wife and mother, instruction that exasperates Saida. "How can the Koran teach you how to live your life, how to take care of your children and your husband?" she asks. So Saida teaches her girls the really important things—how to cook, sew and soothe a husband's ego. "Teaching my daughters how to make their husbands comfortable is the most important thing," she says, "because if a husband is not comfortable, then the woman's life is hell."

"My husband says the Koran tells him he can control his wife however he wants," says Banaz, 32, a mother of seven. ("Five boys," she says, jubilantly. "Only two daughters.") "But I have read the Koran, and nowhere does it say this. He is lying to me." Still, Banaz can do nothing. If she disobeys her husband, he will beat her, as he has done many times before. Once, she claims, he hit her chest so hard that she could not breast-feed her daughter for a week.

The conversation turns to the routine brutalization of women in Afghanistan. Banaz says that four years ago her sister was raped by a soldier of the Northern Alliance, but only the women in the family know about it. Women in Dasht-i-Qaleh call rape "lying down" because it is so common that lying down quietly is the best way for a woman to cope. In a society that permits men several wives, the second or third wives, who tend to be younger and prettier, are vulnerable to rape by other males in the family. Banaz says this happened to her sister, who was 14 when she was married off as the third wife of a local landowner. "It was a good marriage for the family," says Banaz. "But it was not a good marriage for her." She was raped by her husband's brother, a local mullah, whose prominence means that Banaz's sister has no hopes of retribution, it is her word against a holy man's. "In Afghanistan, the men go off to war," says Banaz, "but it is the women who fight their whole lives."

THE YEARS OF THE WHIPS

IN THE 1960S AND '70S, AFGHANISTAN WAS a typical developing country, poor and struggling, with a slowly expanding role for women. By 1964 they had been granted the vote. The cities had begun to produce a small elite of educated women, who entered the professions, wore West-



CROWD CONTROL A man whips a group of women and children. The Taliban often beat women with steel cables as punishment for petty crimes



MADUE MOURNING At the Malalia maternity hospital, a woman weeps near the coffin of a relative who died from uncontrolled bleeding during childbirth, a



hospital, a woman weeps near the coffin of a relative who died from common occurrence. The family is too poor to move the body



BURNING BED Zarghona, 15, lies in a Peshawar shelter, burned by her father-in-law, who said she had not cleaned her husband's clothes properly

TALIBAN RULES

Banned or declared "unclean" by the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice:

FOR EVERYONE

- Pork, pig oil and lobster
- Movies and photographs
- VCRs, TVs and satellite dishes
- Computers and the Internet
- Kite flying and chess playing
- Pool tables and firecrackers
- Pet pigeons and sewing catalogs
- Clapping at sporting events
- Singing and dancing
- "Anything that propagates sex and is full of music"

FOR WOMEN

- Speaking or laughing loudly
- Riding bicycles or motorcycles
- Showing their ankles
- Wearing shoes that click or makeup
- Leaving home unaccompanied by a close male relative
- Attending school
- Speaking to men who are not close relatives
- Working (except for a few doctors and nurses)

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TAHOE

LIKE A ROCK

■ LIFTING THE VEIL

ern skirts and mixed comfortably with men. The Soviet invasion in 1979 was a disaster for Afghanistan generally. But under the Russians, women's rights were protected—even advanced to a degree that alienated some in Afghanistan's tradition-bound society. More women were introduced into government, given an authority that many men found unnerving. Shaima Yunki was a senior aide to the Interior Minister, Afghanistan's internal spymaster. "I was responsible for collecting information on the jihad warriors" who fought the Russians, she says. She likes to show a photo of herself from those days, in it she wears a green army uniform with a pistol tucked under her belt.

As bad as the Russians' occupation was, the chaos that followed their withdrawal in 1989 was worse, especially for women. Afghan warlords brought terror to the urban neighborhoods and villages they laid claim to. Young, undisciplined fighters treated women as plunder; rape became commonplace. Civil war broke out among factions of the victorious anti-Soviet resistance. With the triumph of the Taliban in 1996, conditions were in place for a final degradation of Afghan women.

The Taliban restored order to Afghan cities, but it was order of a sinister kind. Most of the leadership and the fighters were Pashtun tribesmen from rural areas of the south around Kandahar. In some respects, the harshness of their treatment of women was their attempt to extend across all Afghanistan the primitive social order of their villages at home. And it allowed the leadership to claim that Taliban rule had conferred on its male warriors a new degree of authority. The nation was a shambles, but at least the women were firmly under control.

The rules were enforced capriciously, sometimes ferociously, by religious police from the Orwellian-named Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice. Ministry thugs wielding lengths of steel cable would beat women in the street for infractions like wearing white socks. "If women are going outside with fashionable, ornamental, tight and charming clothes," an early decree from the ministry warned, they "should never expect to go to heaven."

It is hard to find a woman in Kabul now who does not remember a beating at the hands of the Taliban. As it consolidated power, its orders became increasingly bizarre and sadistic, based on its extreme interpretations of Koranic instructions. One of these demanded pun-



SCENES FROM A WEDDING Defying official prohibitions against such entertainment, an Afghan bride and groom prepare to meet their guests at a secret wedding party in Herat last spring



MERRYMAKING UNDER SIEGE Relatives of the happy couple arrange cakes and flowers moments before the newlyweds arrive. Behind closed doors, people still found ways to enjoy the pleasures forbidden by the Taliban



CHEEK TO CHEEK The wedding in Herat last spring flouted Taliban law by including music, dancing, makeup and casual interaction between men and women not married to each other



THE PARTY'S OVER Female guests cover themselves before venturing outside again. Attending a celebration, especially in mixed company, was risky enough. Appearing in public without a burka would have invited a beating

Stirrings of a Woman's Movement

The veils came off last Tuesday. Two hundred women had assembled outside the Kabul apartment of Soraya Parlika, Afghanistan's most prominent woman activist, and—in one motion—they all lifted their burkas. "It was a very emotional moment," says Parlika. "After years the women of Afghanistan came out in the open. Under the Taliban we all wore burkas and did not know each other. Now we all know each other's faces."

Parlika, 57, headed the Afghan Red Crescent before the *mujahedin* took over Kabul in 1992. She has emerged as the leader of a small but growing underground women's movement. She had initially planned on Tuesday to lead

still arrive and leave wearing burkas. "The burka is not the main problem of women," says Parlika. "First women should find work and improve their economic situation."

Parlika is used to challenging the status quo. She was imprisoned and tortured in 1979 for organizing a women's movement opposed to President Hafizullah Amin. During the Taliban years she organized a network of secret schools for girls in private apartments across the city.

"We were running hundreds of courses—English, Dari, math, tailoring, computers, weaving, music. You would be surprised at how many 11-year-old girls there are who can



BURKA BRIGADE Soraya Parlika, second from left, is Afghanistan's most prominent feminist. Her apartment last week became the rallying point for women all over Kabul

a march of unveiled women to the U.N. compound in Kabul to demand that women be included in any future government, but the police told her they could not guarantee security—even in post-Taliban Kabul.

Parlika is undeterred. "We intend to contact the government," she says. "The demonstration was the first move to get them to notice. We want women to take part in every conference and every session of the new government."

Since Tuesday, Parlika's apartment, on the third floor of a bullet-scarred Soviet-style complex, has become a gathering point for women from all over the city. They chat excitedly about expanding opportunities for women in the new era and are planning an even larger demonstration in the coming week. But despite the symbolic baring of their faces at the demonstration, most

speak perfect English," she says with a grin. Parents paid about \$1 a month for each course, and the students carried the books for their classes hidden under their burkas.

To be sure, the women gathering around Parlika represent Kabul's well-educated elite; many are teachers or doctors. But already her activities have attracted the attention of the U.N., which is urging the various Afghan factions to include women in their delegations to the upcoming peace talks.

After five years of forced invisibility, Parlika knows she is making some of the more conservative male leaders in Afghanistan uneasy. But so much the better, she thinks. "I just want to tell the world that women should be able to speak out about their own problems." And she is determined to make Afghans—and the world—listen.

—By Terry McCarthy/Kabul

LIFTING THE VEIL

ishment for women who allowed their shoes to make noise when they walked down the street. But this surreal pettiness masked real misery. The ban on work for most women had a disastrous effect on schooling for both sexes, since as many as 70% of all Afghan teachers were women. Excluding them from the classroom meant that boys had few teachers to instruct them.

The work ban extended to widows, who were left no recourse but to beg. In a nation with as many as a million widows—out of a population of just 20 million—that decree alone produced a silent disaster. Sabza Gul, 32, now begs at the Kabul bus station and makes about 50¢ on a good day. Some years ago, when she was still living in a village north of the city, her husband went blind. The family became dependent on whatever money their son Humayoun, 17, could earn as a field worker. The fields were close to the occasional fighting between Taliban and Northern Alliance forces. Eight months ago he was killed by a stray rocket. "There is no work for women," Sabza says. "We had nobody to look after the family, so I came to Kabul." Now that the Taliban is gone, she will try to find work cleaning offices or homes.

All schooling was forbidden to girls over the age of eight. A recent U.N. report estimated that at most 7% of Afghan girls were enrolled in school, compared with roughly half the boys. In Peshawar, the Pakistani city near the border to which many Afghan refugees have escaped, Masooda is a shy second-grade girl—but she is 16. She left school five years ago, on the day the Taliban entered her central Afghan town of Kota Sangi and beat her with a cane for not wearing a burka. When her family fled to Pakistan two weeks ago to escape U.S. bombing, she finally resumed lessons. "I once knew how to read, but I've forgotten everything," she says. "I'm ashamed to be so much older than everyone else."

For those who stayed home, determined mothers have found ways to get schooling for their daughters. Rawshan and Nasima, both 30, are married to the same man, Abdul Qadir, 55, a porter in a Kabul market who makes about \$1 a day. Rawshan has one son and three daughters by Abdul. Nasima has one son and two daughters. Desperately poor, they live in a house peppered with bullet holes. For the past two years, Rawshan's eldest daughter Wahida, 10, has been going to a secret school in an abandoned building.

She has only one hour of lessons a day, given by local women who volunteer their services, but she is slowly picking up the rudiments of math and learning how to read. "I would like my daughter to work outside the home," says Rawshan. "I stayed in the home, and I have had a terrible life."

Next to education, women's health suffered the worst consequences of religious rule. The life expectancy of Afghan women now is just 44 years. There are 17 maternal deaths per 1,000 live births, the second worst rate in the world, just behind war-ravaged Sierra Leone. The statistics only hint at what medical care for women is like in a nation where a male doctor is not allowed to give a thorough physical examination to a female patient. Women had to be examined wearing the full burka. Male doctors sometimes had to stand in a hallway shouting instructions to a female assistant. A doctor could be imprisoned for talking to a female patient who was not fully covered.

Dr. Sima Samar left Afghanistan in 1984 but runs two hospitals in Afghanistan as well as 10 clinics from her base in Quetta, Pakistan. "There was a lot of harassment from the Taliban," she says. "They would enter the hospital at 1 in the morning saying they had received a report that our female staff was not dressed properly or was talking with the male staff."

WHAT NEXT?

EVEN WITH THE FINAL DEFEAT OF THE Taliban, when and if that occurs, Afghan women will remain in a vexed position. The forces vying to take the Taliban's place are not always friendly to women. Within the Northern Alliance, there is a fundamental split between Western-minded technocrats and conservative religious figures. Abdullah Abdullah, the Alliance's media-savvy Foreign Minister, is a technocrat. In his speeches he makes sure to point out that in Alliance-held areas women go to school. He goes so far as to support women's joining the government.

Not so Alliance President Burhanuddin Rabbani, once a foremost proponent of expanding the burka's reach across Afghanistan. More recently, Rabbani allowed to an interviewer that "wearing a head scarf is enough in the cities." But in the Northern Alliance stronghold of Faizabad, his acolytes make sure that all women are completely covered. "Rabbani is better than the Taliban," says Farahnaz Nazir, a women's rights activist in the Northern Alliance town of Khoja Bahauddin. "But he is still very conservative. He does not believe that women are equal."

A Gorgeous Journey Through Hell

IN 1998 AN AFGHAN-REARED Canadian journalist named Nelofer Pazira attempted to slip across the Iranian border into her native land. She was trying to reach the city of Kandahar before an old school friend, depressed by the rigors of Taliban repression, made good on a suicide threat.

This much of Iranian director Mohsen Makhmalbaf's lovely and terrifying movie *Kandahar* is true. Indeed, Pazira, 28, plays Nafas, the character she inspired—though in the film it is a sister, not a friend, she seeks to save—and the year is 1999, just before the millennium new year. In real life, Pazira only briefly penetrated

some ways, the film's most chilling: young boys singsonging ancient religious verse, sternly criticized for incorrect tonalities while learning nothing of the actual world they will inherit. But the whole movie, made well before Afghanistan achieved its current place in the world's consciousness and at obvious risk along a smuggling route, traffics in ironies of this frightening kind. The distressing portrait that emerges is of a handsome people whose kindly instincts have been subverted by fear, corruption and the desperate struggle to survive.

This is most poignantly symbolized by a passage in which Nafas and her last guide, an angry, erratic older man, join an all-female party heading across



HER LIFE ONSCREEN Afghan-reared Canadian journalist Nelofer Pazira plays a character she inspired in this feature film about a journey through her homeland

Afghanistan's border. In the film, her character, shrouded in a burka and taking notes on a hidden tape recorder, is a brave, lonely figure constantly menaced by a bleak land and the day-to-day anarchy of the life she finds there.

The Afghanistan shown here is a place where the Red Cross grotesquely air-drops replacement legs for the thousands whose limbs have been lost to land mines, and would-be recipients argue vehemently about their fit; a place where, when Nafas becomes ill, the local healer—who turns out, strangely, to be a black American—can examine her only by peering through an eyehole cut in a blanket; a place where one of her guides is an angry, untrustworthy child who has been expelled from an Islamic school whose only text is the Koran.

The sequence in that school is, in

the sands to a wedding. Even the man disguises himself in a burka, and the pictures of this group shrouded in costumes of many colors (Ebrahim Ghafouri's photography is the year's best) are strikingly beautiful. Yet we are also made aware of how their movements are restricted by their clothes, how they must struggle just to see and breathe. There can be no more powerful image of the sexism of theocratic tyranny (beauty accidentally achieved by mindless oppression) than the one these shots force upon us.

We do not see what becomes of Nafas or the woman she wanted to rescue. What we get instead is a movie that is at once primitive and sophisticated, a near documentary that tells us much about harsh current reality, yet also often achieves moments of something akin to aesthetic bliss.

—By Richard Schickel

■ LIFTING THE VEIL

That attitude extends into the rank and file. Zulmai is a Northern Alliance soldier lounging on a tank in the town of Farkhar. Ask him how many brothers he has, and he proudly tells you four, all soldiers. Ask how many sisters, and he says none. Press him repeatedly, and he finally admits to three. Why did he deny them? "Because girls are not important." He shrugs. "They do not count."

This helps explain why the signals being sent to women by Alliance forces in Kabul are so mixed. Though they reopened a movie theater there last week for the first time since the Taliban took power, women were not admitted. A brief street demonstration last week by women who wanted to march to the U.N. headquarters in Kabul to demand equal rights was blocked by the police, who claimed they could not guarantee the security of the protesters.

In recent weeks the Bush Administration, in cooperation with the British government of Prime Minister Tony Blair, has opened a public relations assault to point up the oppression of women under Taliban rule. Two weeks ago, Laura Bush delivered what is ordinarily the President's Saturday radio address to speak about the problem. "What this initiative has done is send a signal," says Jim Wilkinson, director of the Coalition Information Center, the White House office that coordinates the Administration's worldwide anti-Taliban message. "By talking about the problem, we're hopefully able to affect the solution as they set up the new Afghan government," he notes.

In Washington two weeks ago, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and the President's Special Counselor, Karen Hughes, met with Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority, and Mavis Leno, who has long worked to bring attention to the problems of Afghan women. "We asked the Administration to make returning women to equal status under the law a nonnegotiable issue in forming any new government," says Leno, wife of *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno. "That's pretty much the language Colin Powell used when he spoke at the State Department [last week], so it appears the government is going to do exactly that."

Or try to do. Afghanistan is famously resistant to outside interference. Ask the Russians. "When the Soviets came, they wanted to change the country overnight, abandoning tribal codes that existed for

centuries," says Nelofer Pazira, an exiled Afghan journalist and dedicated foe of the Taliban who stars in the film *Kandahar* (see box). "People were appalled. They went completely in the opposite direction. Even more liberal families became very conservative."

No matter what other nations may think, in the end it will be up to the Afghans to find a new balance of genders in their society. Progress is likely to be slow, particularly outside the educated

élites of Kabul. Even there it will be subject to the complex forces of coercion, family pressure and tradition. Mohammad Halim, who runs one of Kabul's best-known burka shops, says he has no plans to offer a wider variety of clothing. "It will only be in Kabul where women will take off their burkas. Elsewhere women will continue wearing them. This is a very old custom in Afghanistan." That very day, says Halim, more than a week after the Taliban fled the city, he sold 20.

Maybe Halim has not counted on the number of girls who think like Mashal. At 18, she wants to be a doctor. "I want to be freed from Allah," she says. "I don't want to wear a veil at all. I want to wear miniskirts." And he may not be counting on the determination of women like Fakhria, 35, a mother of four in Kabul. After the Taliban forced her from her job at a teacher-training college, she opened a secret beauty salon in her house in Kabul. A high wall shields her customers

from prying eyes. Inside are pictures of female models torn from Pakistani magazines. On shelves beside a large mirror, she has a selection of lipsticks, eyeliners and hair sprays. In the West they would be commonplace. In a society that forbids them, they seem weirdly precious.

With the Taliban gone, Fakhria hopes to open a storefront salon. No blackened windows anymore to hide the forbidden faces. She also wants to go back to her teaching job. "I can make more

money in a salon," she says. "But I want to pass on knowledge."

There is one kind of knowledge that all Afghan women can pass on now—what it was like to be trapped in a society that, however briefly, perfected their imprisonment.

—Reported by Hannah Beech/Dasht-i-Qaleh; Hannah Bloch and Matthew Forney/Islamabad; Terry McCarthy/Kabul; Jeff Chu/London; Jeffrey Ressler/Los Angeles; Alex Perry/Mazar-i-Sharif; Tim McGirk/Spin Boldak; and John F. Dickerson/Washington

AMONG THE RUINS A woman hurries through a bombad-out section of downtown Kabul. Afghan women have endured two decades of brutality at the hands of marauding soldiers



THE WOMEN OF ISLAM

The Taliban perfected subjugation. But nowhere in the Muslim world are women treated as equals

By LISA BEYER

FOR HIS DAY, THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD WAS A FEMINIST. THE doctrine he laid out as the revealed word of God considerably improved the status of women in 7th century Arabia. In local pagan society, it was the custom to bury alive unwanted female newborns; Islam prohibited the practice. Women had been treated as possessions of their husbands; Islamic law made the education of girls a sacred duty and gave women the right to own and inherit property. Muhammad even decreed that sexual satisfaction was a woman's entitlement. He was a liberal at home as well as in the pulpit.

The Prophet darned his own garments and among his wives and concubines had a trader, a warrior, a leatherworker and an imam.

Of course, ancient advances do not mean that much to women 14 centuries later if reform is, rather than a process, a historical blip subject to reversal. While it is impossible, given their diversity, to paint one picture of women living under Islam today, it is clear that the religion has been used in most Muslim countries not to liberate but to entrench inequality. The Taliban, with its fanatical subjugation of the female sex, occupies an extreme, but it nevertheless belongs on a continuum that includes, not so far down the line, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Pakistan and the relatively moderate states of Egypt and Jordan.

Where Muslims have afforded women the greatest degree of equality—in Turkey—

DURKAN OZBILICI/AP

TURKEY

Turkish women, the most liberated in the Muslim world, had their own version of Ms.—the title *bayan*—by the 1930s, long before Americans. Here, students of a military medical academy march in a ceremony celebrating the founding of the modern republic by Kemal Ataturk.



SCOTT ELLISON—GETTY IMAGES

MODERATE CULTURE

IRAN

Though women's legal rights have been curtailed since the 1979 Islamic revolution, Iranian society remains more progressive than its law. Near a ski lift in the Alborz Mountains, a woman lets her hair slip from the confines of her scarf. The ski resort no longer segregates the sexes

difficulty in suing for divorce, but husbands can be released from their vows virtually on demand, in some places merely by saying "I divorce you" three times. Though in most Muslim states, divorcées are entitled to alimony, in Pakistan it lasts only three months, long enough to ensure the woman isn't pregnant. The same three-month rule applies even to the Muslim minority in India. There, a national law provides for long-term alimony, but to appease Islamic conservatives, authorities exempted Muslims.

Fear of poverty keeps many Muslim women locked in bad marriages, as does the prospect of losing their children. Typically, fathers win custody of boys over the age of six and girls after the onset of puberty. Maryam, an Iranian woman, says she has stayed married for 20 years to a philandering opium addict she does not love because she fears losing guardianship of her teenage daughter. "Islam supposedly gives me the right to divorce," she says. "But what about my rights afterward?"

Women's rights are compromised further by a section in the Koran, sura 4:34, that has been interpreted to say that men have "pre-eminence" over women or that they are "overseers" of women. The verse goes on to say that the husband

ularized. In Islam, women can have only one spouse, while men are permitted four. The legal age for girls to marry tends to be very young. Muhammad's favorite wife, A'isha, according to her biographer, was six when they wed, nine when the marriage was consummated. In Iran the legal age for marriage is nine for girls, 14 for boys. The law has occasionally been exploited by pedophiles, who marry poor young girls from the provinces, use and then abandon them. In 2000 the Iranian Parliament voted to raise the minimum age for girls to 14, but this year, a legislative oversight body dominated by traditional clerics vetoed the move. An attempt by conservatives to abolish Yemen's legal minimum age of 15 for girls failed, but local experts say it is rarely enforced anyway. (The onset of puberty is considered an appropriate time for a marriage to be consummated.)

Wives in Islamic societies face great

ISLAM

they have done so by overthrowing Islamic precepts in favor of secular rule. As Rif-fat Hassan, professor of religious studies at the University of Louisville, puts it, "The way Islam has been practiced in most Muslim societies for centuries has left millions of Muslim women with battered bodies, minds and souls."

Part of the problem dates to Muhammad. Even as he proclaimed new rights for women, he enshrined their inequality in immutable law, passed down as God's commandments and eventually recorded in scripture. The Koran allots daughters half the inheritance of sons. It decrees that a woman's testimony in court, at least in financial matters, is worth half that of a man's. Under Shari'a, or Muslim law, compensation for the murder of a woman is half the going rate for men. In many Muslim countries, these directives are incorporated into contemporary law. For a woman to prove rape in Pakistan, for example, four adult males of "impeccable" character must witness the penetration, in accordance with Shari'a.

Family law in Islamic countries generally follows the prescriptions of scripture. This is so even in a country like Egypt, where much of the legal code has been sec-

MOVING AHEAD

MALAYSIA

Malaysian women, who make up half that country's university students, are entering the professions in rising numbers. Women hold the offices of attorney general, central bank governor and trade minister. In two states ruled by fundamentalists, though, head coverings are required by law



STEVE GRANER—AP/WIDE WORLD

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ISLAM

of an insubordinate wife should first admonish her, then leave her to sleep alone and finally beat her. Wife beating is so prevalent in the Muslim world that social workers who assist battered women in Egypt, for example, spend much of their time trying to convince victims that their husbands' violent acts are unacceptable.

Beatings are not the worst of female suffering. Each year hundreds of Muslim women die in "honor killings"—murders by husbands or male relatives of women suspected of disobedience, usually a sexual indiscretion or marriage against the family's wishes. Typically, the killers are punished lightly, if at all. In Jordan a man who slays his wife or a close relative after catching her in the act of adultery is exempt from punishment. If the situation only suggests illicit sex, he gets a reduced sentence. The Jordanian royal family has made the rare move of condemning honor killings, but the government, fearful of offending conservatives, has not put its weight behind a proposal to repeal laws that grant leniency for killers. Jordan's Islamic Action Front, a powerful political party, has issued a fatwa, or religious ruling, saying the proposal would "destroy our Islamic, social and family values by stripping men of their humanity when they surprise their wives or female relatives committing adultery."

Honor killings are an example of a practice that is commonly associated with Islam but actually has broader roots. It is based in medieval tribal culture, in which a family's authority, and ultimately its survival, was tightly linked to its honor. Arab Christians have been known to carry out honor killings. However, Muslim

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MIX OF CUSTOMS

EGYPT

Women in Egypt range from traditional to Westernized, though with the resurgence of Islam in recent decades, veils have become more common. A new law has made it easier for a woman to get a divorce, but she still cannot leave the country without her husband's permission

perpetrators often claim their crimes are justified by harsh Islamic penalties, including death for adultery. And so religious and cultural customs become confused.

Female circumcision, also called female genital mutilation, is another case in point. It involves removing part or all of a girl's clitoris and labia in an effort to re-

duce female sexual desire and thereby preserve chastity. FGM is widespread in sub-Saharan Africa and in Egypt, with scattered cases in Asia and other parts of the Middle East. The World Health Organization estimates that up to 140 million girls and women have undergone the procedure. Some Muslims believe it is mandated by Islam, but the practice predates Muhammad and is also common among some Christian communities.

Sexual anxiety lies at the heart of many Islamic strictures on women. They are required to cover their bodies—in varying degrees in different places—for fear they might arouse the lust of men other than their husbands. The Koran instructs women to "guard their modesty," not to "display their beauty and ornaments" and to "draw their veils." Saudi women typically don a billowy black cloak called an abaya, along with a black scarf and veil over the face; morality police enforce the dress code by striking errant women with sticks. The women of Iran and Sudan can expose the face but must cover the hair and the neck.

In most Islamic countries, coverings are technically optional. Some women, including some feminists, wear them be-

LEGAL SETBACKS

PAKISTAN

Laws passed during an Islamization drive favor rapists and equate the testimony of one man to that of two women. Although Islam encourages education, most females are illiterate. Even within the confines of a women's university in Rawalpindi, these women continue to veil themselves



ROBERT NICKELBERG—GETTY IMAGES



ISLAM

cause they like them. They find that the veil liberates them from unwanted gazes and hassles from men. But many Muslim women feel cultural and family pressure to cover themselves. Recently a Muslim fundamentalist group in the Indian province of Kashmir demanded that women start wearing veils. When the call was ignored, hooligans threw acid in the faces of uncovered women.

Limits placed on the movement of Muslim women, the jobs they can hold and their interactions with men are also rooted in fears of *unchaste* behavior. The Taliban took these controls to an extreme, but the Saudis are also harsh, imposing on women some of the tightest restrictions on personal and civil freedoms anywhere in the world. Saudi women are not allowed to drive. They are effectively forbidden education in fields such as engineering and law. They can teach and provide medical care to other women but are denied almost all other government jobs. Thousands have entered private business, but they must work segregated from men and in practice are barred from advancement.

Though Iran is remembered in the West mostly for its repressive ayatullahs,

SEXUAL APARTHEID

SAUDI ARABIA

In the official subjugation of women, it took the Taliban to outdo the Saudis. Women here are not allowed to drive cars or fly anywhere without permission. They can work only in segregation from men and must cover themselves when in public or in the presence of the opposite sex

women there enjoy a relatively high degree of liberty. Iranian women drive cars, buy and sell property, run their own businesses, vote and hold public office. In most Muslim countries tradition keeps ordinary women at home and off the street, but Iran's avenues are crowded with women day and night. They make up 25% of the work force, a third of all government employees and 54% of college students. Still, Iranian women are—like women in much of the Arab world— forbidden to travel overseas without the permission of their husband or father, though the rule is rarely enforced in Iran.

Gender reforms are slow and hard-fought. In 1999 the Emir of Kuwait, Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, issued a decree for the first time giving women the right to vote in and stand for election to the Kuwaiti parliament, the only lively Arab



VIOLENT THREATS

KASHMIR

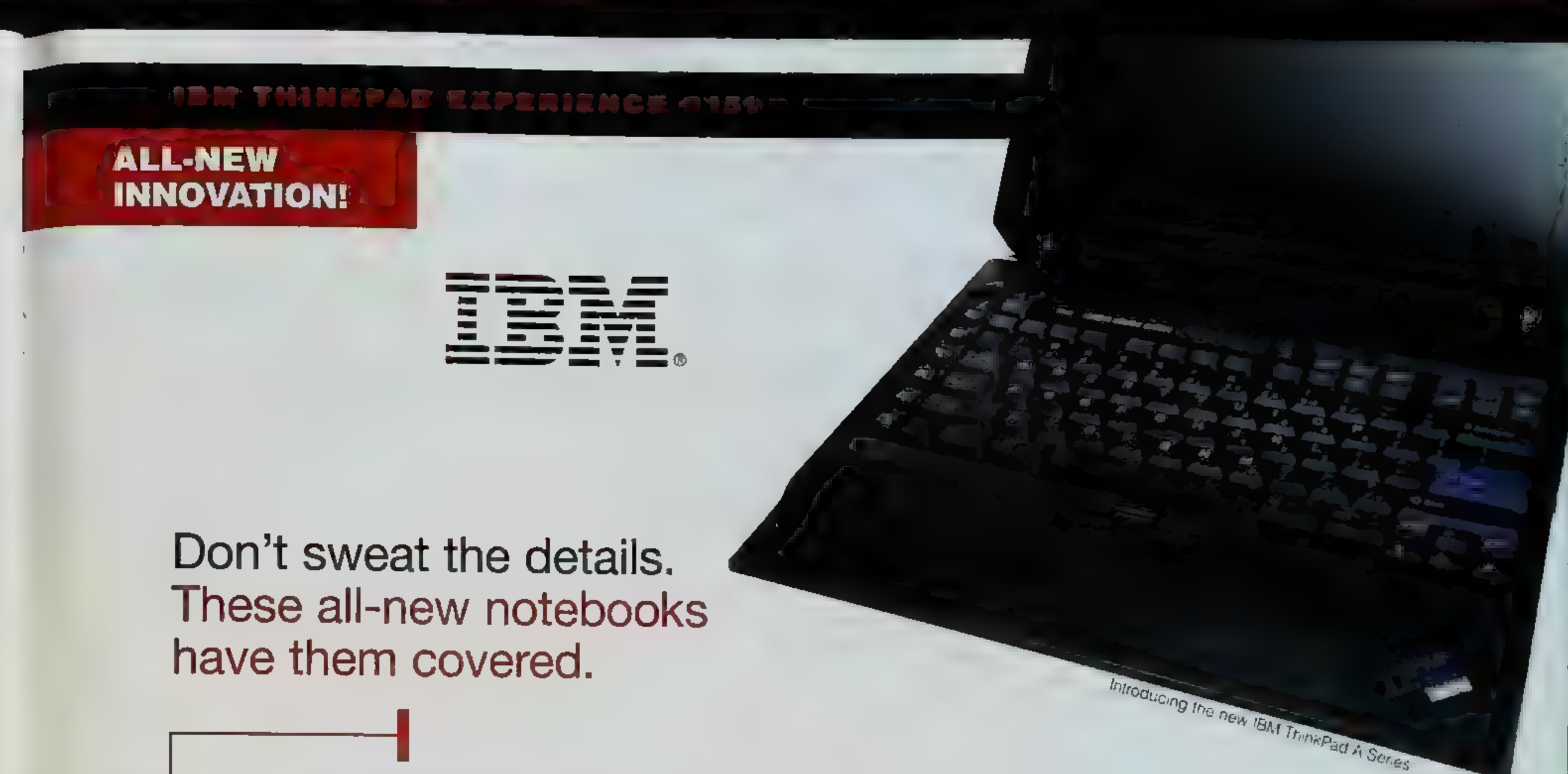
When Muslim women in Kashmir ignored a fundamentalist group's demand that they veil themselves from head to toe, radicals began throwing acid in the faces of uncovered women. Local women quickly began covering themselves when out in public, at least for a time

legislature in the Persian Gulf. Conservatives in parliament, however, blocked its implementation. In addition, the legislature has voted to segregate the sexes at Kuwait University. Morocco's government has proposed giving women more marriage and property rights and a primary role in developmental efforts, but fundamentalists are resisting the measures.

Muslim women are starting to score political victories, including election to office. In Syria 26 of the 250 members of parliament are female. In Iraq the numbers are 19 out of 250. Four Muslim countries have been or are currently led by women. In Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, they rose to prominence on the coattails of deceased fathers or husbands. But Turkey's Tansu Ciller, Prime Minister from 1993 to 1995, won entirely on her own.

Turkey is an exception to many rules. Women in Turkey are the most liberated in the Muslim world, though Malaysia and Indonesia come close, having hosted relatively progressive cultures before Islam came to Southeast Asia in the 9th century. In Turkish professional life women enjoy a level of importance that is impressive not only by the standards of other Islamic countries

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If you bought radial tires made by Cooper Tire & Rubber Co., a proposed settlement may affect your rights.

Para una notificación en Español, llamar o visitar nuestro website

A proposed nationwide settlement of class action lawsuits involving purchasers of Cooper branded and private-labeled Cooper-made tires ("Cooper Tires") has been reached in *Talalai et al v. Cooper Tire & Rubber Company*, No. L-008830-00-MT, and preliminarily approved by the Superior Court of New Jersey, Middlesex County (the "Court"). **Personal injury or property damage claims are not involved. This is not a recall.**

The proposed settlement includes, among other things, an enhanced warranty that provides a free replacement tire or an alternative dispute resolution system if you experience an "Adjustable Separation" on your tire as noted below.

Who is affected?

Many independent retailers sell Cooper Tires, some under their own brand name. Check the DOT code on the side of your tire (see the illustration) to see if it was made by Cooper. The website below contains a list of various brand names under which Cooper Tires have been sold.

You are a "class member" if you fit this description: All First Purchasers* of an Eligible Cooper steel belted radial tire in the United States or its territories and possessions, manufactured by Cooper Tire & Rubber Company in the United States (whether sold under the Cooper Tire & Rubber Company label or a private label) from January 1, 1985 until January 6, 2002, and who still retain said tire, excluding: (a) Defendant; (b) consumers who have sustained personal injury and/or property damage; (c) any Used Tire Business; and, (d) any judicial officer(s) presiding over the Related Actions.

What is the case about?

This class action and related lawsuits claimed that Cooper did not disclose alleged adhesion problems between tire layers or manufacturing methods to remove inner liner blisters, among other allegations. Cooper denies all allegations, and has asserted numerous defenses. The settlement is neither an admission of wrong doing nor indicates a violation of any law.

What does the settlement provide?

The proposed settlement creates a five year Enhanced Warranty Program providing either a free replacement tire or an alternative

dispute resolution system (ADR), if you have an Adjustable Separation on an Eligible Cooper Tire. Class members can receive a free replacement tire (including balancing, mounting, and disposal costs, except for medium truck tires, which include mounting and disposal costs only). Instead of free replacement, you may choose an ADR process. Under the ADR option, you must submit a verified claim form and any supporting documents.

Generally, an Adjustable Separation means a separation between plies, belts, tread, the liner and the body, the sidewall, at the wing and tread junction, at ply turn-up, between ply and belt, at rim flange, a distorted tread (radial tires), and/or pick cord-wicking. Further details on this and which tires are eligible can be obtained by calling or visiting the website.

Cooper has also agreed to implement an Enhanced Finishing Inspection Program, and a Consumer Education Program that will focus on tire maintenance, actions to take in the event of a separation, and how to identify possible precursors to a separation.

For more detailed information about the benefits under the settlement, call or visit the website below.

What are your rights and options?

If you do not wish to participate in or be legally bound by the settlement, you must exclude yourself as described in the detailed notice, by January 15, 2002 or you will be barred from pursuing any legal action against the defendant relating to the settled disputes. If you exclude yourself, you will NOT be eligi-

ble for the Enhanced Warranty Program benefits. If you stay in the class, you may comment on, or object to, the terms of the proposed settlement by January 15, 2002. The detailed notice describes how to submit comments or objections. The Court will hold a hearing on January 29, 2002 to consider whether to finally approve the settlement and Class Counsels' fees of no more than \$27.5 million for prosecuting the actions, and fees and expenses of no more than \$2.5 million for implementing the settlement. You may appear at the hearing, although you do not have to do so.

For a detailed notice or more information, call toll free 1-877-370-2493, see the website www.coopertirelitigation.com, or write to Cooper Tire Litigation, P.O. Box 36, Excelsior, MN 55331-0036. PLEASE DO NOT CONTACT THE COURT.

Are your tires included?

Regardless of the brand name of your tire, by checking the sidewall you can determine whether it was made by Cooper. If the "DOT" is followed by: U9, 3D, UT, or UP, then your tire was made by Cooper.



*A "First Purchaser" is a retail purchaser, or end user, of an Eligible Cooper Tire purchased new at retail and installed on a vehicle owned or leased by such retail purchaser.

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ISLAM

but also by European lights. Turkey's liberalism is a legacy of the republic's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, an aggressive secularist who gave women rights unprecedented in the Muslim world (even if he found it hard to accept women as equals in his own life). Last week the Turkish parliament went a step further by reforming family law. Previously, a man was the head of the household, able to make unilateral decisions concerning children. No more. The law also establishes community property in marriages and raises the marriageable age of girls from 15 to 18.

Around the Islamic world, women are scoring other victories, small and large. Iran's parliament recently compromised with conservative clerics to allow a single young woman to study abroad, albeit with her father's permission. Bangladesh passed legislation increasing the punishments for crimes against women, including rape, kidnapping and acid attacks. Egypt has banned female circumcision and made it easier for women to sue for divorce. In Qatar women have the right to participate in municipal elections and are promised the same rights in first-ever parliamentary balloting scheduled to take place by 2003. Bahrain has assured women voters and candidates that they will be included in new elections for its suspended parliament.

Saudi Arabia, the chief holdout, has at least pledged to start issuing ID cards to women. Today the only legal evidence of a Saudi woman's existence is the appearance of her name on her husband's card. If she gets divorced, her name goes on her father's card; if he's dead, her brother's; and if she has no brother, the card of her closest male relative, even if she scarcely knows him. Manar, 35, a Riyadh translator, thinks ID cards for women will make a real difference. "As long as you are a follower, you cannot have a separate opinion, you cannot be outspoken," she says. "Once you have a separate identity, then other things will come." For most Muslim women, there are many things left to come. —Reported by Hannah Bloch/Islamabad, Amanda Bower/New York, Andrew Finkel/Istanbul, Meenakshi Ganguly/New Delhi, Scott MacLeod/Riyadh, Azadeh Moaveni/Tehran, Amany Radwan/Cairo, Matt Rees/Amman and Simon Robinson/Sana'a

IN THE U.S.

Freer, but not Friedan

The debate over Rana Irfan's frequent trips back home to India took years to resolve. She enjoyed them, but her husband Kareem found them unnecessary. Eventually the issue was resolved in Kareem's favor, as are many between them. Their marriage, says Rana, 37, a spirited and sophisticated native of Bombay, is based on "consultation," but in the end, "someone has to take charge. That is my husband." It says as much in the Koran.

Superficially, American Muslim women are living out the classic immigrant-socialization process, with time logged in the U.S. serving as the great liberalizer. Sociologists describe their increasing demand for equal rights and opportunities. But in the

Indian assumptions for a liberating Islamic understanding. Her upbringing taught women "to take care of our husbands." But as she studied the Koran with several (female) teachers here, "I learned more and more about my rights as a woman. I don't do the housework now because I have to; I do it because I want to. There is a reward from God if I do well."

If that falls short of Betty Friedan, there is more ground to cover. Asked about the controversial Koranic sura 4: 34—with its sanction of spousal punishment, including beating, for "insubordination"—Kareem, who is chairman of the Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, is bemused. "It's amazing how many men know this

quote from the Koran—if they know nothing else in it," he says. Most already understand the "beatings" as light taps. Further study, he maintains, would reveal that husband may punish wife for religious infractions only and that holy writ calls for "mutual consultation between husband and wife." He says so to men who come to him for Islamic counseling—advice they might have been less likely to get before moving here.

Those trying to imagine the future of

NAPERVILLE, ILL. Rana Irfan, front, at home with husband Kareem, daughter Zuha, son Zuhair and pets

case of Muslim Americans, such impulses occur within a context of strong social conservatism. Without accepting many of the harsh strictures imposed on their sisters worldwide, Islamic women here still support the separation of sexes at mosques and believe in modest dress (although the definition of modest varies). Parity in family decision making is on the increase, but the husband often has the last word. Women sacrifice their careers for their families. The gender assumptions resemble nothing so much as those in America in the 1950s.

Of course, the back story is different. Rana's marriage to Kareem was arranged during a visit to the U.S. when she was 21. Engagement followed their second meeting; "he looked like a good chap," she says, laughing. She frames her American experience as a shedding of limiting

Muslim feminism might keep an eye on Rana and Kareem's daughter Zuha, 13. In some ways, she out-observes her mom. Rana did not wear the hijab regularly before Zuha, who attends an Islamic private school, put on the pressure. "I would come to pick her up, and she would say, 'Mother, you're embarrassing me by not wearing the veil.'" But Zuha is also a budding hoops star, with shelves full of Nancy Drew and Harry Potter—not Britney Spears but hardly subservient role models. Zuha's marriage will be arranged, but her parents promise she can reject their choice of husband if need be. Despite her education to date, she will attend a non-Muslim college. "It will be different," she says, with both hesitancy and curiosity. It always is.

—By David Van Blenda. Reported by Marguerite Michaels/Naperville and Nadia Mustafa/New York



CRUISE CONTROL:
In Fort Lauderdale,
Fla., soldiers guard
the port for tourists



JOE PACOLE—GETTY IMAGES

■ HOMELAND SECURITY

SOLDIER ON THE BEAT

Our domestic safety used to be up to cops. Now the Pentagon wants to step in

By MARK THOMPSON WASHINGTON

MOST AMERICANS IN THE SERVICE don't join up to guard downtown Minneapolis or serve in, say, the Pennsylvania theater. But they may have to change their outlook.

Last week the Pentagon made it clear it wants to make a senior military officer responsible for the defense of the nation.

This may seem like an obvious idea when the Pentagon seems so involved in every aspect of American life right now. Since Sept. 11 its warplanes have been patrolling U.S. skies, and thousands of military troops have been guarding U.S. airports and key bridges, ports and dams. But these forces are being commanded by very different parts of the military: the airplanes

are controlled by the North American Aerospace Defense Command, and ports are being looked after by both the Coast Guard and the Pentagon's Joint Forces Command. The National Guard troops, meanwhile, are guarded by the nation's Governors. In other words, it's a bureaucratic mess, if not a logistical one.

So now the military wants to assign a single four-star officer to protect American territory, just as four others are responsible for the European, Central, Pacific and Southern commands. These regional commanders in chief are called CINCs. Although CINCs have been around since World War II, there's never been such a high-ranking officer in charge of defending the U.S. It's likely that the mission will be assigned to either the Norfolk-based Joint Forces Command, which oversees 80% of

U.S. forces based inside the U.S., or NORAD, based in Colorado Springs, Colo. The homeland-defense commander would support, not supplant, the new White House Office of Homeland Security run by Tom Ridge, with all those problematic details on who outranks whom still to be worked out.

While the concept of a domestic commander may seem natural in a post-September world, it is actually a radical departure for the military. The Pentagon has mostly stayed away from the job of defending American cities and suburbs, leaving it to local cops, fire fighters and haz-mat teams. That tradition has its roots in a law known as the Posse Comitatus (Latin for power of the county) Act of 1878, which bars military personnel from searching, seizing or arresting people in the U.S. Congress passed it after President Ulysses S. Grant ordered troops to serve as federal marshals at the polls in former Confederate states during the hotly contested 1876

presidential elections; Southerners then complained bitterly that Grant was "protecting" his party's candidates. "There comes a time when we've got to re-examine the old laws of the 1800s in light of this extraordinary series of challenges that we're faced with today," says Senator John Warner of Virginia, the senior Republican on the Armed Services Committee.

But the idea of fiddling with the Posse Comitatus Act worries civil libertarians. While F-16s patrolling over New York City and Washington may reassure some, the notion of soldiers in fatigues carrying M-16s at the Mall of America may not have the same effect. Tim Edgar, legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, says soldiers shouldn't be used for police work because they are not trained for it: using overwhelming force to compel compliance by an enemy is different, he says, from the kind of negotiations engaged in regularly by most law-enforcement agencies. Military traditionalists have a problem with the idea too: they are worried that an overemphasis on homeland defense will dilute U.S. ability to wage war overseas.

That's partly why the White House backs the idea of an "Americas Command" but wants it limited to managing the Pentagon bureaucracy. If there is a catastrophic attack, that management will allow quick action, but the Administration is concerned about assigning any standing military force to missions now handled by police and other law-enforcement and emergency agencies. Governors argue that they know better than the momentarily garrisoned

how to patrol their own backyard and protect their neighbors. Soldiers should be used only as "the last resort," Ridge says. Some of his "Governor friends"—Ridge is the former Pennsylvania Governor—are grumbling that their constituents are more comfortable with the police they've grown up with, and that officials who answer to the Pentagon can't easily be worked into state plans.

Bush is expected to approve the new CINC early next year, and Pentagon officials believe the change will be permanent. "The good news is that most of the elements to be successful are already there," says General Jim Jones, who as commandant of the Marine Corps is a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "It's more about reorganizing than it is about increasing troop levels by tens of thousands of people." It's one more way that American Airlines Flight 77—which crashed into the Pentagon on Sept. 11—has shaken the Defense Department. —With

reporting by John F. Dickerson/Washington

THE ROUNDUP

Why Hide the Numbers?

This much could be expected after Sept. 11 when the Federal Government began holding in secret more than 1,000 people: the American Civil Liberties Union and at least one Democratic politician from New England would raise hell. But what was perhaps not as predictable is that protest would come from a conservative stalwart like Utah Senator Orrin Hatch. Earlier this month he joined Senate Judiciary chairman Patrick Leahy of Vermont in writing a letter to Attorney General John Ashcroft to express concern over the covert roundup of mostly immigrants suspected of being connected to the terrorist attacks. Since then, Leahy has repeatedly asked the Attorney General to release the number and names of detainees.

Ashcroft is not budging. His office told Congress it would continue to withhold the names of detainees, saying to do otherwise would compromise their privacy and potentially hamper the investigation. But it is also possible that Justice officials are as confused as everyone else about a definitive list. On Nov. 1 the department reported that from Sept. 11 to that date, 1,147 people had been detained nationwide. But at a briefing a few days later, Ashcroft spokeswoman Mindy Tucker said that senior department officials were not happy with the way the totals were being calculated. For one thing, it is a cumulative tally, not a count of those currently in custody, which means it does not specify how many of those detained have been questioned and released, or how many have been charged with a minor crime and met bail. Justice also feared that a number of individuals were being counted twice, once for illegal-immigration status and a second time for committing a state, federal or local crime. Tucker said the department would no longer issue daily or even weekly updates, because the task of making and synchronizing lists was too labor intensive.

What we do know is this: the Justice Department has broken up the 1,147 into four categories. The first is made up of those held by the INS for immigration violations; as of Nov. 1 they totaled 185. The second group, for which an exact number remains unknown, comprises those jailed for federal offenses like credit-

card fraud. The third, also an unknown quantity, consists of those arrested for state and local crimes, such as parole violations or carrying a concealed weapon. The fourth set is made up of those said to be material witnesses to the attacks. The number in this category is believed to be five to 10, though all information relating to their arrests has been sealed by a federal judge. Included in this group is Zacarias Moussaoui, arrested in August for immigration violations after the flight school he attended alerted authorities to his desire to learn to fly a passenger jet, though he could barely handle a single-engine plane.

Of the total arrested, the majority are men in their 20s and 30s. They have been picked up because they were born in an Islamic nation or were doing suspicious things, such as applying for licenses to transport hazardous materials. Some have been detained after coming forward to offer information. Others appear to have a direct connection with the hijackers. One detainee in this category is Osama Awadallah, a Jordanian student attending school in San Diego, who is not considered to have been involved in the attacks but has been



AWADALLAH, a Jordanian student held since September, with a niece

jailed since mid-September and is charged with lying to a grand jury about knowing one of the hijackers. He has pleaded not guilty. His name was found among the hijackers' belongings. —By Michele Orecklin. With reporting by Elaine Shannon/Washington

Akhil Reed Amar

War Powers: Is Bush Making History?

AMERICA'S MOST REVERED PRESIDENTS OFTEN EXPANDED their Executive power. Then again, so did America's most reviled Presidents. Judged against past precedents and past Presidents, how do George W. Bush's recent actions rate?

Since Sept. 11, the Bush Administration has detained more than 1,000 noncitizens, waged a foreign war, helped Congress broaden wiretap authority, endorsed military trials for alien alleged terrorists and authorized eavesdropping on certain conversations between lawyers and clients. Most of these measures find support in past practice. But some raise serious doubts.

Begin by considering the first President. As a general in the American Revolution, George Washington approved a military trial for Major John André, an enemy spy. But the Revolution's precedents only faintly support Bush's proposed military tribunals. Washington acted years before the Constitution was adopted, and the war had disrupted civilian courts and jailhouses. Justice in a total war on American soil had to be summary.

to surviving detainees and offered symbolic reparations, but the Supreme Court has not yet squarely overruled these precedents. Bush has detained many fewer people than F.D.R., has limited his detentions to aliens, and claims specific reasons for suspecting each detainee. Legally, these detentions may hold up. But morally, targeting voteless aliens raises questions: Who are these people, and what are they suspected of? How many are being held without criminal charges? In its defense, the Administration may argue that if an alien is released and leaves the country, getting him back later as a defendant or a witness may be impossible.

F.D.R. also used military courts to try a few Nazi saboteurs found on American soil. But these trials were for violations of the laws of war after Congress had formally declared war. Although Congress has blessed Bush's Afghanistan campaign, it has not formally declared war. This difference may matter to civilian judges down the road.

Judged by historical standards, Bush gets mixed marks. His



Abraham Lincoln also faced such a war. Congress was not in session when he took office, so he acted unilaterally at first, waging war and even suspending habeas corpus in places. But he then summoned Congress and asked for laws blessing his actions. Congress largely obliged. Lincoln also authorized various military trials, but the 1866 Supreme Court held that citizens not charged with war crimes should be tried in regular civilian courts whenever such courts were open.

Contrast Washington and Lincoln with two failed Presidents. Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, became President because of one man's bullet rather than all men's ballots. Yet he unilaterally undid several Lincoln policies, flouting federal law in the process. Unlike Lincoln, who built bridges to leading war Democrats, Johnson demonized his critics. So did Nixon a century later. Equating criticism of the Vietnam War with disloyalty, Nixon hit the opposition party with illegal surveillance and electoral dirty tricks.

In the case of another wartime President, F.D.R. allowed more than 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans to be herded into detention centers. Acting in an era when Jim Crow still reigned, the Supreme Court upheld these racially charged detentions. In 1988 Congress enacted a law that officially apologized

detention of aliens is much less draconian than F.D.R.'s, and Bush has preached against racial scapegoating. Congress has endorsed the additional wiretap authority. Military trials for alien terrorists would go beyond World War II precedents, but not by miles. Even if constitutionally permissible, however, nonpublic, nonjury military trials may be grossly unwise, forgoing the opportunity to showcase dramatic evidence of wrongdoing as well as America's fair judicial procedures.

Hardest to defend is Bush's recent regulation allowing federal agents to eavesdrop on certain lawyer-client conversations. The regulation covers citizens as well as aliens, encompassing people not even charged with crimes, much less convicted. Bush would eavesdrop unilaterally, without any O.K. from a judge. Nothing in Congress's recent antiterrorism legislation authorizes this unprecedented regulation; indeed, leading lawmakers were not even consulted. The Executive unilateralism here recalls Harry Truman's seizure of steel mills in 1952 to guarantee supplies for the Korean War. In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court ruled against Truman because Congress had pointedly declined to authorize such seizures.

History's largest lesson is that wise wartime Presidents act in coalition with other branches of government and opposition party leaders. Acting without Congress, without the courts and without a statute or precedent nearby is more likely to get a President in hot water than to get him on Mount Rushmore. ■

Akhil Reed Amar teaches constitutional law at Yale and is the author of *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction*

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CHEVY MALIBU WE'LL BE THERE

IS THIS ANY WAY TO RUN A RAILROAD?

It's Judgment Day for Amtrak: the ailing system needs to speed up—or be shut down for good

By DANIEL EISENBERG

JUDGING BY THE GAGGLE OF TRAVELERS pouring onto trains over the Thanksgiving holiday, you might think that Amtrak is finally enjoying a smooth ride. But you would be wrong. Three decades after Congress created this poor stepchild from the remnants of the freight railroads' money-losing passenger business, Amtrak is closer than ever to derailing.

The Amtrak Reform Council, a federal oversight board, last month formally concluded what most observers have known for

to do things we need that private business won't. No transportation system in the world really makes money."

And U.S. trains, compared with other modes of transportation, don't get much help. Passenger trains receive only 4% as much in federal subsidies as the \$13 billion pulled in annually by airports. And highways get even more: \$30 billion a year. Speedy, reliable passenger trains could help relieve congestion on the nation's highways and at its airports, especially for trips of 100 to 500 miles. If their railbeds were upgraded and widened to allow them to run faster, they

could speed travelers between the business districts of cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, or Chicago and St. Louis, as quickly as the tag team of taxi-airplane-taxi. Trains are also two to eight times as fuel efficient as planes.

That doesn't mean

that Amtrak, a creature of pork-barrel politics, is the right entity to revive rail travel. Burdened by the conflicting missions of providing comprehensive nationwide service and making a profit, Amtrak has failed at both. Now many experts are concluding that Amtrak as we know it will probably have to be scrapped—perhaps to be replaced by semiprivatized, regional passenger-train networks.

Since its inception, Amtrak has been saddled with entrenched bureaucracy, outdated

equipment and high labor costs for its unionized workers. Thanks to its inconsistent schedules, for example, Amtrak pays heavily to put up stranded crews in hotels. In the past decade, passenger trains have not significantly increased the number of riders, which stands at 22 million a year—about 1% of all intercity travel. Only one Amtrak route, from Washington to New York City, makes money, and many trains amble along as slowly as they did 50 years ago.

In the most recent fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30, Amtrak had an estimated operating loss of \$365 million (which doesn't include capital expenses) on total revenues of around \$2.5 billion. This summer it took out a \$300 million mortgage on New York City's Penn Station to keep the trains running. When the nation's skies were shut down after Sept. 11, Amtrak did enjoy a brief spike in traffic, especially on its faster, new Acela trains between Washington and Boston. But with leisure travel across the country slipping, Amtrak's overall September ridership was actually 6% lower than last year's, and security costs are rising.

Getting more people to consistently climb aboard is going to take a major commitment of both public and private dollars. Passenger trains, after all, didn't die a natural, market-driven death. In the 1930s and '40s, a consortium of General Motors, Firestone, Standard Oil and others bought up popular electric street trolleys in various



ZOOM: Amtrak's speedy trains are jammed with business travelers—but only in the East

that Amtrak actually owns—the freight rails control the rest—and it costs \$400 million to \$600 million a year to maintain.

The U.S. passenger-rail market is still too small and fragile to have multiple carriers enter routes between cities, as the airlines have. But separate regions that have already formed high-speed corridors could open up their service contracts to competitive bidding—as many now do with commuter service—from a scaled-down Amtrak or private companies that operate commuter and passenger-rail services around the world, such as Connex and Herzog. "We see potential there, and we'd like to see opportunity," says Jim Stotzel, a vice president at Connex North America, a division of France's Vivendi, which runs passenger trains in Europe.

Since 1996, 21 states, led by California, have invested almost \$1 billion in intercity-rail projects in conjunction with Amtrak. Illinois, for instance, is helping finance a \$400 million high-speed link between Chicago and St. Louis. If Congress would provide matching funds, the states would have

added incentive to invest. In high-density parts of the Midwest, Florida, Texas and the West Coast, intercity rail could gain 20% to 30% of the travel market—just as Amtrak commands 40% of mass-transit trips between New York City and Washington.

One possible casualty under this scenario would be the long, scenic routes that cross the country, serving small, remote towns—and losing millions of dollars. The only way such lines will survive in the long

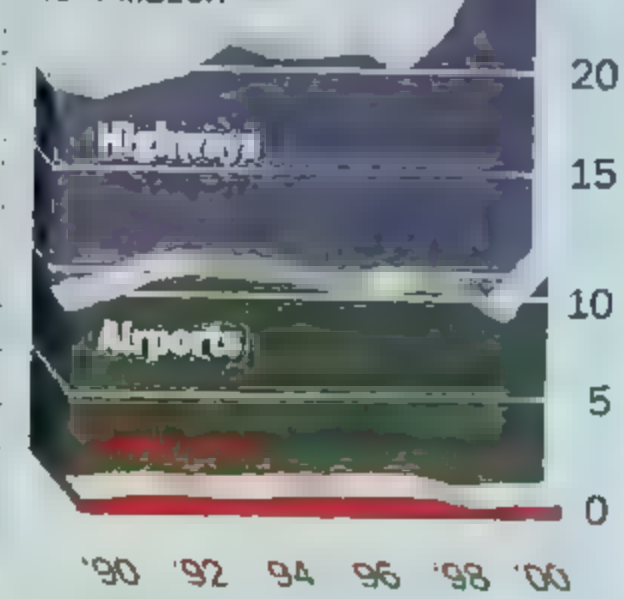
BIG PLANS, LITTLE MONEY

While Amtrak has just one high-speed rail link in service, regional routes are planned across the country. But money is short. Amtrak gets a tiny fraction of federal spending on transportation



A Distant Third

Total federal spending, in billions, adjusted for inflation



Note: 2001 figures are appropriations
Sources: Amtrak, Bureau of Transportation Statistics

U.S. cities only to shut them down, and lobbied for highways at the expense of rails.

Both airlines and highways have dedicated sources of federal funding: gasoline and ticket taxes. Until rail gets its own lifeline—like an extra penny of federal gasoline tax, which would bring in more than \$1 billion a year—Amtrak may have to continue "fighting for table scraps," as CEO George Warrington puts it.

Members of Congress have proposed a host of bills to fix that, by giving Amtrak and the states anywhere from \$20 billion to

\$70 billion in tax-exempt bonds and loan guarantees. But despite a diverse coalition of passenger-rail supporters, from Senate majority leader Tom Daschle to his Republican counterpart Trent Lott, it's unlikely that Amtrak will control all the funding or that it will survive much longer in its current form.

The Amtrak Reform Council will probably recommend that Congress create a new entity to take over Amtrak's responsibility for managing the busy, 700-mile Northeast Corridor, from Washington to Boston. The corridor is the only part of the nation's rails

run. Heritage Foundation economist Ronald Utt argues, is to morph into entertainment and recreational offerings, as cruise ships have done.

Before that can happen, though, Washington will have to find a new way to keep the trains running at all. And travelers looking for an alternative to the crowded highways and long lines at airports have to hope that Amtrak—or its successor—can seize this chance to get on track.

—With reporting by Elizabeth Coady/Chicago, Umesh Kher/New York and Jeffrey Rensner/Los Angeles

Buying Into a Recovery

A burst of mergers is the latest of many sudden signals that a recovery may be around the corner

By DANIEL KADLEC

ARE MORE MERGERS A SIGN OF FAIR weather ahead? Fred Green thinks so. Expecting a revival in corporate takeovers, Green, co-manager of the Merger Fund, has begun accepting new money from investors for the first time in two years. And his timing looks good. Last week Phillips Petroleum agreed to acquire Conoco for \$15 billion in stock, followed swiftly by carpetmaker Mohawk Indus-

That doesn't mean the good times are here. "There's still a lot of bad economic news in front of us," Zandi predicts. "Christmas is going to be tough. Bankruptcies will rise in the first quarter. People will lose jobs." The National Bureau of Economic Research is expected to conclude this week that the U.S. has been in a recession since March—confirming what most folks have felt since last winter.

One of the ironies of business-cycle dating is that recessions often aren't de-

progress in the war on terrorism is also helping. But a setback in that war or in any future economic readings could cause traders to rethink their budding optimism.

In corporate planning rooms, however, hopes are likely to stay on the mend. There is little chance that CEOs planning deals will recoil. Companies seeking to divest a noncore asset or buy one that fits a strategic need can't wait forever. With stock prices no longer falling and the worst earnings news evidently behind us, bankers say, buyers and sellers of companies are better able to value assets and are eager to explore options. For example, analysts who cover J.P. Morgan Chase say the bank, stung by its exposure to investment banking, is looking for an acquisition in the consumer-lending area to diversify further.

"There's a lot more dialogue at the CEO



A NEW ENERGY GIANT



A CRUISE COMBO

BOTTOMED OUT?

NASDAQ	
Friday's close	1903.2
Low (Sept. 21)	1423.2
Change	UP 33.7%
S&P 500	
Friday's close	1150.3
Low (Sept. 21)	965.8
Change	UP 19.1%

tries' \$1.4 billion deal to buy flooring company Dal-Tile and the announcement of a \$3 billion cruise-line merger of Royal Caribbean with Princess. There was even talk that cruise-line heavy Carnival might pre-empt that deal by bidding for Princess.

The high-stakes world of Wall Street mergers and acquisitions, moribund all year, is stirring. That's often a harbinger of a rising economy—and it's not the only one we're seeing. The stock market has been quietly rallying. Initial public offerings of stock remain few, but those getting to market are being snapped up fast for the first time since the last gasp of Internet mania in early 2000. And the benchmark 10-year Treasury bond, a proxy for mortgage rates, shot from 4.17% to 5% in a blink. Higher rates are a burden to borrowers—but one that usually precedes a stronger economy. "The worst is over," declares Mark Zandi, chief economist at Economy.com.

clared until after they have reached the bottom. But what comes next is recovery. In another irony of the times, the indicators pointing to recovery are emanating from Wall Street, even as investment firms are mired in an extended round of layoffs. Head count will be down 5% this year. Still, the Street is plainly forecasting better times. The rise in long-term interest rates indicates that bond traders expect higher demand for credit in the next six to nine months as consumers and businesses resume spending. The stock market too tends to rise ahead of the economy; led by cyclical stocks like Alcoa and DuPont, the Dow is up 21%, closing last week at 9960, a decisive shift that qualifies as a new bull market.

These moves have been spurred by a batch of government reports showing fewer jobless claims, better retail sales and an uptick in consumer confidence. A feeling of

level," says Steve Baronoff, head of global M&A at Merrill Lynch. "As CEO confidence grows, you'll see a lot more pull the trigger on deals." He notes that the deal pipeline at Merrill has begun to refill in the past month and that economically sensitive companies—including tech, telecom and media—have begun discussing deals that could take place the first half of next year.

Likewise, the IPO market is firming. Insurance company Anthem went public a few weeks ago and has soared 37%. Weight Watchers went public in mid-November, and the stock is up 32%. Magma Design, a tech IPO, has soared 45%. "We haven't seen a string like that in a long time," says Linda Killian, analyst at Renaissance Capital. Sensing a buoyant market a few months out, billionaire investor Laurence Tisch at Loews Corp. just filed to sell shares of his Lorillard Tobacco in an IPO. He too is reading the tea leaves—and seeing good things. ■



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C I N E M A

Who's the guy with the nose? Owen Wilson—hot screenwriter, gifted comic and now, action hero

By JESS CAGLE

THE ONLY THING IN HOLLYWOOD MORE interesting than Owen Wilson's career may be Owen Wilson's nose. It's a wonder to behold: a twisting, swollen ski slope; a special effect that seems to expand and change angles with the light. He broke it first in ninth grade, then again playing intramural football at the University of Texas. Has he considered having it fixed? "I get bombarded with those questions," he says. "I must look like a freak, but if I were to change it I would get so much grief from my brothers."

He has suffered for the nose, but not because of it. Five years ago, Wilson, 33, became known as one of the most original young writers in movies. The film was *Bottle Rocket*, a sharp-as-a-tack crime comedy

he co-wrote with director Wes Anderson. Their low-budget breakthrough, starring Wilson and his two brothers, Luke, 30, and Andrew, 37, earned some devoted fans and critics, but it didn't set any fires at the box office. Since then, however, Owen has established his unique profile with supporting roles in big popcorn hits like 1998's *Armageddon* and last year's double-header *Meet the Parents* and *Shanghai Noon*. (He wrote some of the latter film's funniest dialogue as Jackie Chan's cowboy sidekick.)

With a high-pitched drawl that

makes him seem at once sleepy, surprised and seductive, he is becoming a most unlikely movie star, doing his part for the growing Wilson dynasty. Andrew is an aspiring director, and Luke has gone on to appear in *Charlie's Angels* and *Legally Blonde*. "We're extremely competitive," says Owen, "but not with business. I'm always excited when I see them doing stuff because it's so amazing that we're even working in movies."

This week the overachieving middle brother gets his first shot at a showy leading role in *Behind Enemy Lines*, a rah-rah war movie co-starring Gene Hackman. Wilson again appears with Hackman in *The Royal Tenenbaums*, opening Dec. 14. The whip-smart comedy about a family of geniuses, the third collaboration between Anderson and Wilson, co-stars Gwyneth Paltrow, Ben Stiller and brother Luke as Hackman's dysfunctional brood.

Hackman describes Wilson as "a good young actor with original looks." It's an understatement, but true enough. Born and bred in the affluent environs of north Dallas, Wilson was a rambunctious kid (he was expelled from prep school in 10th grade for cheating in geometry) who found redemption in his sly sense of humor and knack for writing quirky dialogue. Majoring in English at the University of Texas, he discovered a kindred spirit in Anderson, his senior-year roommate. In 1992, they wrote *Bottle Rocket* as a short film. After it played at the Sundance Film Festival, producer-director James L. Brooks (*As Good as It Gets*) helped them turn it into a feature.

The Anderson-Wilson sophomore ef-



ZOOLANDER With Stiller, he stole the show as the hilarious dimwit Hansel in this spoof about male runway models



THE KING OF KONGS He co-wrote the screenplay and co-stars as a young novelist from Manhattan who goes Western

fort, 1998's prep-school comedy *Rushmore*—another funny riff on rivalry and forgiveness—also charmed the critics, but *The Royal Tenenbaums*, with its all-star cast (including Wilson as a western novelist with a taste for cowboy hats, loafers without socks and hard drugs), is expected to be their most successful movie yet.

Despite his talent for writing, Wilson, who's shooting *I Spy* with Eddie Murphy, says, "it's more fun to go act than to hole up for a couple of months and try to write something. That's a lot scarier." But the writer in Wilson never stays dormant for long. Before shooting *Behind Enemy Lines*, Wilson transformed his character on the page from a swaggering pilot to a misguided navigator who has to outwit some Serbian bad guys after being shot down. "It kinda helped me make it more believable for myself," says Wilson. "I don't see myself being a straight-out action hero."

Whether studios can believe in Wilson as any kind of leading man—he'd like to branch out into dramas and romantic comedies—depends largely on the success of *Behind Enemy Lines*. So far, it looks promising. The film had such rousing response from test audiences that Fox, which had originally scheduled the movie for next year, is rushing it into theaters. First-time feature director John Moore and the studio initially questioned Wilson's ability to carry an action film, but Hackman—a fan since seeing him in *Shanghai Noon*—lobbied on Wilson's behalf. "I thought he could bring something unconventional to our scenes working off each other," says Hackman, who plays a tough-love naval commander.

While shooting Wilson's close-ups, Moore asked Hackman to scream his lines loudly at the younger actor. "It was to get a reaction from me," says Wilson, "but I almost started to smile because I was like, 'Wow, that's the voice Hackman uses when he gets mad that I've heard so much.' So it didn't get the intended effect." In the end, though, Wilson acquits himself nicely, making good use of his ability to wink at the audience without appearing self-conscious. "You have got to be s_____ing me!" he hollers after an elaborate, aborted rescue attempt. It's a cry of agony, but with Wilson's expertly put-upon delivery, it's also funny. In that moment he admits the movie's implausibility and captures the heart of the audience. Forget the nose, if you can. He's got legs.

WILSON'S LATEST MOVIE VENTURE

A Solid Victory on the Action Front

AN AMERICAN FLYER NAMED Chris Burnett (Owen Wilson) is down *Behind Enemy Lines*.

The guys back on his aircraft carrier, led by Admiral Reigart (Gene Hackman), naturally want to rescue him. Their opponents do not want that to happen. This is not, perhaps, the most original premise in the history of popular fictions. But wait; it gets a lot better. The setting, posed in a fictitious time frame, is quite clearly the war in the former Yugoslavia; and the Serbians, among whom Burnett has fallen, don't want to take him prisoner. They want to execute him, because his F/A-18 plane, slightly off course, has taken pictures of a massacre—ethnic cleansing on a large

It takes Hackman's Reigart a while to recognize Burnett's good qualities; early in the film he's pegged the kid as a hot dog. Of course, we know that Reigart will come around sooner or later and risk his career to launch (and personally lead) a rescue mission. We'll let you guess—don't work too hard at it—how that comes out.

There are war movies coming along (*No Man's Land*, *Black Hawk Down*) that tell more original and riveting stories. This one is no more than good, solid commercial picture-making (although, come to think of it, that's getting to be something of a rarity lately). But it is well played (special mention to Vladimir Mashkov, who portrays Burnett's implacable tracker with chilling, silent menace) and, better than that, it is well directed by John Moore, whose previous work was in commercials.

For once, we don't have to hold that against a director. Moore can quick-cut with anyone, and he uses that skill intelligently (as in the scene where the F/A-18 pilots eject). But his most memorable work is of a more sweeping sort. He uses a high camera gracefully,

scale—and its perpetrators don't want the world to know about it.

Meantime, back on the carrier, Reigart is forced by NATO authorities to abort his rescue mission because it might upset a delicate cease-fire. The admiral hesitates; Burnett keeps running for his life. He's no longer the wisecracking rebel we first met, but despair is not part of his lexicon either. For Wilson stands on the verge of becoming a heroic American archetype, and this should be the part that makes him an authentic star. He's a little bit handsome, a little bit funny, a little bit smart, a little bit cool—but not too much any of those things, which means he's easy to take to heart and root for.

ly, swirlingly, to isolate Burnett in the stark and unforgiving mountains. He can also get down on the ground, in low angles, to track Burnett's flight across flatter terrain while still stressing the man's lonely desperation. It's too much to say that Moore's work constitutes a reinvention of the action movie. But he does have a terrific eye, and he never forgets that his hero is one small man moving through a desolate and deadly landscape. Burnett's path through this country is circular; he ends up where he landed. But the journey is never boring, and it's morally satisfying too. O.K., the movie is what Hollywood likes to call "a ride." But it's one worth taking.

—By Richard Schickel



BEHIND ENEMY LINES In this war drama, he becomes a leading man who's easier to root for

BOOTH CENTURY FOX



SHE'S GOT LEGS
They have carried her from Oscar to oblivion to a potent new performance

PAULA HANSON—CORBIS OUTLINE

CINEMA

true love. But the affair crosses class lines. His mother worries openly about it; if the kid persists, he could end up a lobsterman instead of the architect he wants to be. Matt indulges his son; he thinks this is just a phase. Who's right, we'll never know. For Frank is killed. So is, more or less, Tomei's role—she appears only intermittently thereafter.

But that's all right with the Brooklyn-born actress. She fought for the part of Natalie, a woman who combines the sexy and the maternal in a way that sometimes, Field recalls, made "my jaw hit the ground." The director, himself an actor (he was Tom Cruise's piano-player pal in *Eyes Wide Shut*), says of Tomei: "She's not afraid to get lost. She's not afraid to stumble. She's looking for it to be messy."

That is brave for a woman who, aside from *The Perez Family* and *What Women Want*, was not landing choice roles. "I think you have to have a certain confidence that comes across on the screen," she says. "And I think I got away from that a little bit." She stuck it out, though, "because I love acting so much. I just really have this belief that that's what I'm supposed to be doing."

She has also never trucked to anyone. Even on *In the Bedroom's* happy set, she fought for her right to a Maine accent and for a budget-bending love scene she felt her character, and Stahl's, needed. That was O.K. with Field, who found her very low maintenance: "She cares, and not in a fanciful way. It's very practical." Says Tomei: "All you have going for it is the passion, the belief in it, the zeal to be there every day."

Zeal may be a quality some viewers will need in order to enjoy *Bedroom*. Once the lovers disappear, it settles into a film of silent accusations and deflected anguish. But that watchful waiting has a curiously instructive, ultimately hypnotic effect; this, one thinks, is really the way middle-class America hides its hurts. And those silences render more powerful the explosive confrontation between the grieving parents, in which a lifetime's evasions are blown away. They also make the movie's violent conclusion all the more startling, yet utterly right.

In the Bedroom is not a film for the romantically twitchy or the ideologically itchy. But this precisely calculated piece—beautifully acted by Tomei and the rest of the cast—

is a very fine movie for those who value exquisitely rendered emotional truth. Is there, one wonders, an Oscar category for that? —Reported by Jess Cagle/Los Angeles

DOOMED LOVE:
With Stahl in
In the Bedroom



JOHN CLIFFORD—HIMMAYAK

The Appeal of Her Zeal

Marisa Tomei finds redemption in an exquisite film

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

IT'S ONLY A WEEK AFTER THANKSGIVING, and most of the big Oscar engines are still in the roundhouse, gathering steam for their dash to big-time buzz, grosses and Academy glory—or not. But while everyone hovers about them, you should glance over at that sidetrack where a little engine that may not even think it can be getting a head start to the finish line.

It has a nice steamy title—*In the Bedroom*—but no particular sexual heat. Todd Field, its first-time feature director, seems never to have looked at, let alone made, a music video. This is a patient movie, carefully studying what happens to an unexciting middle-class couple, Matt and Ruth Fowler (Tom Wilkinson and Sissy Spacek), when their good, gifted son Frank (Nick Stahl) is carelessly killed in a small Maine town.

But the movie has a couple of things going for it. One is the precedent of last year's much lauded *You Can Count on Me*, also about dark currents running through small-town life. The other is that *In the Bedroom*

boasts a terrific comeback performance in a pivotal role by Marisa Tomei.

It may be unfair to single her out when Spacek and Wilkinson so gracefully manage most of the movie's heaviest lifting. But they have always been predictably expert actors. Tomei's career path is radically different. She came out of nowhere to win the supporting-actress Oscar, over more prestigious competitors, for her hilarious work in 1992's *My Cousin Vinny*. Then, and just as suddenly, she swooned into off-Broadway plays and smallish roles in obscure films, where she also gained a reputation as "difficult." Now she's back, and damned if people aren't talking Oscar nomination again.

Playing about a decade under her true age (36), Tomei is Natalie, a warmhearted, lower-class single mom who has made two mistakes: marrying an angry rich boy (William Mapother) and then, while separated, taking up with Frank. There is a

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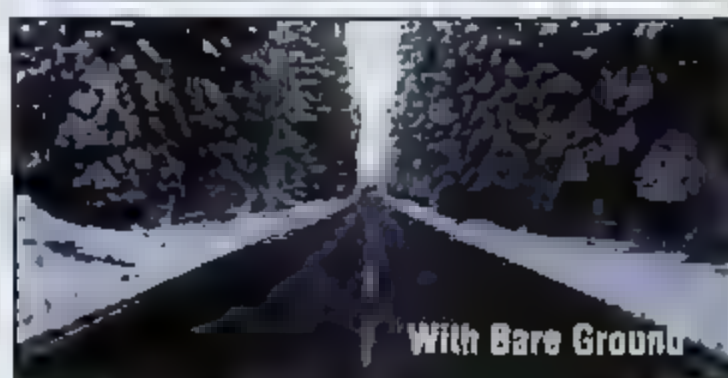
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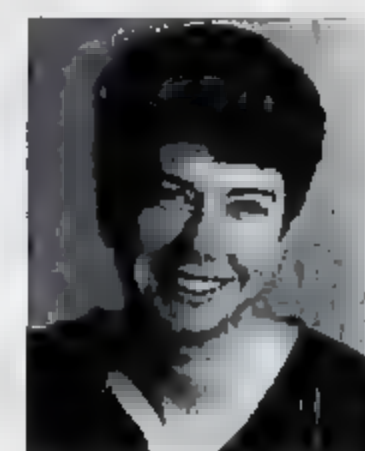
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Gods in the Wading Pool

Mary Zimmerman draws from the myths of Ovid to create entrancing theater—and an unlikely hit

By RICHARD ZOGLIN



KING MIDAS IS A PREENING billionaire in a business suit who has no patience for his playful daughter ("Take it inside!" he barks) until he accidentally turns her into a solid-gold accessory. Phaeton, sporting sunglasses and yellow swimming trunks, relaxes on a raft as he confides to a therapist his troubled relationship with his father, who happens to be the Sun. Myrrha, a girl so infected by the goddess of love that she commits incest with her father, gets her comeup-

say the playwright and audience are "collaborating in a dream," and she has brought some of humanity's oldest dreams—Greek myths—to shimmering life.

Since Sept. 11, the New York theater has been under a lot of pressure to prove its relevance. Some Broadway shows, like *Noises Off* and *Mamma Mia!*, have done their bit for the war effort by offering escape: innocent laughs or peppy songs. *Metamorphoses* takes a tougher, more rewarding tack. It doesn't turn away from human troubles and tragedy; it looks for their larger meaning, their place in the divine scheme, the way they can lead to understanding, acceptance and (with luck) redemption. They also make for great stories. Like Julie Tay-

mor's *The Lion King*, *Metamorphoses* is avant-garde theater at its most vital and ingratiating. Disney, take note.

Zimmerman is not just a delightful storyteller; she's a visionary designer of stage space and actors' movement. The action in *Metamorphoses* is structured around a large wading pool, and the stage devices are so elegantly simple, they provoke a smile even as they heighten the drama. When God creates light, an actor lights a cigarette, for a fatal storm at sea, a bare-chested thug tosses a bucket of water at the

captain and wrestles him into submission in the water. Some stories are enacted, others narrated; still others are a deft mix of the two. A few good-natured modernisms are sprinkled in, but they never interfere with the seriousness and earnest romanticism of these tales of love and loss.

"Unfortunately," says Phaeton's therapist, "the mythic side of man is given short shrift these days. He can no longer create fables." A professor of performance studies at Northwestern University, Zimmerman, 41, has been creating stage fables for years from her base in Chicago, just off the radar screen of the East Coast tastemakers.

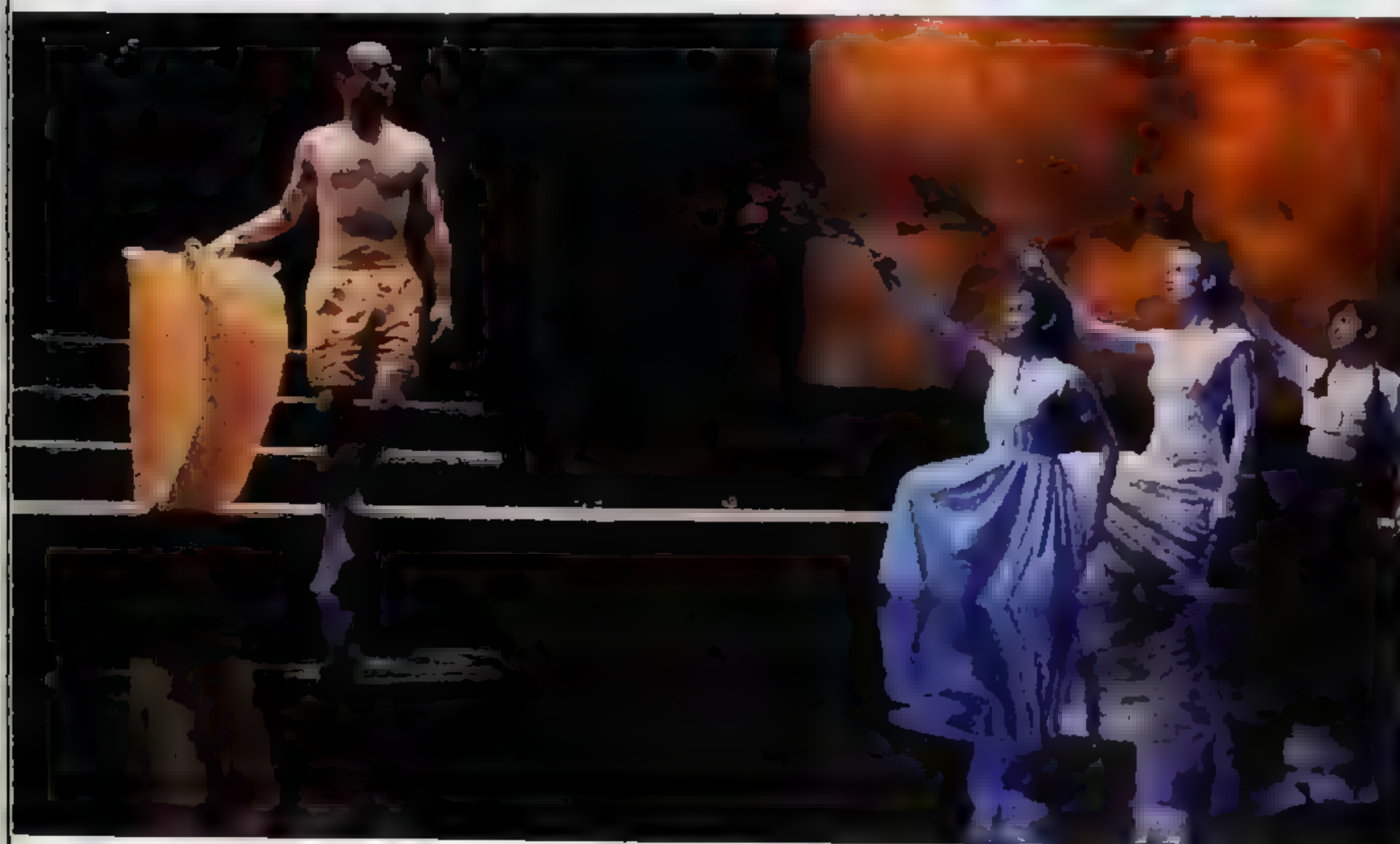
She chooses classic texts, from *The Arabian Nights* to the 16th century Chinese novel *Journey to the West*, transforming them with her lyrical, low-tech theatricality, spiced with dollops of dance, mime and performance art. (She typically starts rehearsals with no script, writing it at home as she sees it performed.) Her version of Homer's *Odyssey* is a 3½-hour epic constructed of chairs, poles, bags of sand and shadow play. In *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci* actors perform excerpts from the Renaissance genius's scientific writings while cavorting on a floor-to-ceiling set of wooden cabinets.

Zimmerman, who was born in Nebraska to college-professor parents, says she had her formative encounter with the theater at age five or six, when the family was living in London. One day, in the woods near their house where she used to play, she stumbled on a local summer-theater troupe rehearsing *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. "I knew they were pretending. I wasn't fooled," she says. "But it was the act of pretending and the fact that adults were pretending that was stunning to me. I call that my primal scene."

Like Taymor's theater work, Zimmerman's harks back to these innocent, child-like reactions. "I'm from Nebraska, and Willa Cather is the great Nebraska author whom I've ignored until this age," she says. "But in [Cather's] *Song of the Lark*, there's a character who says she will never be the artist she was as a child. I have very much that same feeling: that the ability to take something banal or simple and make it into something else is a skill that is in the realm of childhood."

The ability to transform an audience into willing (and often weeping) children is the essence of *Metamorphoses*, and of Mary Zimmerman's original and warming art

—With reporting by Amy Lennard Goehner/New York



BURNT BY THE SUN: Phaeton, who has father issues, gets ready for his aquatic therapy. "Unfortunately," notes his therapist, "the mythic side of man is given short shrift these days"

pace by literally melting away—her body sinking out of sight, into the pool of water that takes up most of the stage.

Everybody gets into the pool at one point or another in Mary Zimmerman's entrancing theater piece *Metamorphoses*. But somehow it's the audience that feels most refreshed. This off-Broadway show—which opened at Manhattan's Second Stage Theatre in October and has been such a hit that it's planning a move to Broadway in February—is theater as primal as it is charming. Zimmerman likes to

say the playwright and audience are "collaborating in a dream," and she has brought some of humanity's oldest dreams—Greek myths—to shimmering life.

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The Second Life of *Brian*

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more closely at the subtle prejudice the African American Sayers faced among his own team (along with overt public racism when he and Piccolo became the Bears' first interracial roomies). But it cuts a key scene in which Piccolo calls Sayers a "nigger" to get a rise out of him, an apparent sop to contemporary sensibilities. Phifer's Sayers is a tougher nut to crack than Williams'; as Piccolo, Maher is a charming wiseacre, but a little too sprightly. Caan's wry, macho Piccolo was a football player. Maher's is an especially buff comedian.

Like the original, this *Brian* doesn't stint on the melodrama: there's a wrenching scene of a dying Piccolo kissing his sleeping children goodbye; when he gets the bad news from his doctor, a thunderstorm is raging. The cues are a touch more sophisticated (e.g., the sound track uses Simon and Garfunkel's mournful *Bookends Theme*, rather than cloying orchestration), but the improved production values have mostly to do with advances in TV. The 1971 film often looks like an episode of *Room 222*; the 2001 film, like an episode of *The Practice*.

Anyway, the original's achievement had nothing to do with craft, subtlety or writing; it was all about blending humor, sports and unabashed sap to



BACKFIELD BUDDIES: Phifer, left, and Maher suit up

Love Story with a Y chromosome, plus a deep interracial friendship, and the network now promotes it as "groundbreaking," a "landmark" among TV movies.

So why remake it? The new *Brian's Song* (Sunday, Dec. 2, 7 p.m. E.T.) follows the original's playbook so closely that it never really answers the question. But it makes a few changes—good, bad and curious. Sayers (here, Mekhi Phifer) and Piccolo (Sean Maher) were bitter rivals before they were friends, and the remake does a better job showing how the flinchy, all-business Sayers, a born superstar, clashed with Piccolo, who compensated for his middling talent with hard work and disarming jokes. The update also looks

make guys unembarrassed to sob, at the precipice of the sensitive '70s. (A year later, football star Rosie Grier sang *It's All Right to Cry* in the seminal children's album *Free to Be You and Me*.) *Brian's Song* was wholly of its time, when football was a rising competitor to baseball, when the civil-rights struggle was fresh in the public mind, when men were redefining manhood.

Brian re-ducts may look better, but it's consciously a period piece—right down to the training montage scored to *Cool Jerk*—and its impact is less immediate. Thirty years and *Jerry Maguire* later, it's competent and affecting enough, but it's just another bowl game: not super, not subpar, just superfluous. —By James Poniewozik

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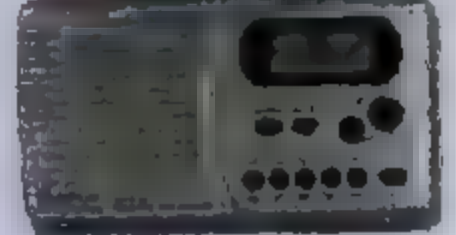
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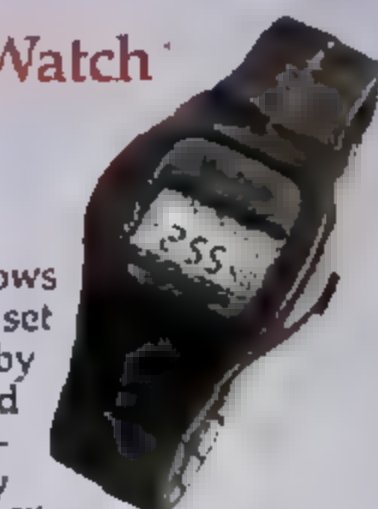
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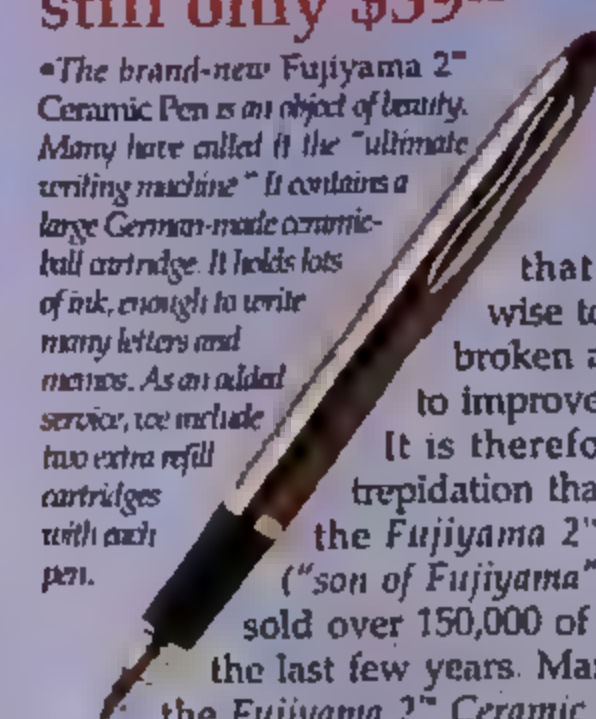
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MUSIC

MISSUNDAZTOOD **Pink** The teen-pop/rap divette makes it clear that her second album is for girls who have outgrown dancing in pajamas to Britney and



matured into smoking in the eighth graders' bathroom. Pills, tattoos, and men in cars all make appearances, and so, fittingly, does rock: three-chord guitar riffs, real drums and vocals by Aerosmith's Steven Tyler. If **Pink** continues down this road to damnation, her bad-girl act may blossom into sass big kids enjoy. It hasn't yet. —By Benjamin Nugent

CINEMA

SPY GAME Directed by **Tony Scott** On his last day in the CIA, agent Nathan Muir (Robert Redford) recounts the story of Tom Bishop (Brad Pitt), whom he recruited and mentored. Bishop is about to be executed for a rogue raid on a Chinese prison, and Muir wants to rescue him. The excess of talk, some

SHORT TAKES



of it nicely smart-alecky, is relieved by much standard action-movie fieldwork: explosions, car chases, muttering. Though the film ranges the world and the decades in search of coherence and consequence, it finds none. —By Richard Schickel

BOOKS

THE COMPLETE LYRICS OF IRVING BERLIN Edited by **Robert Kimball** and **Linda Emmet** Has any other pop songwriter had a No. 1 hit 83 years after it was written? **God Bless America**, today sung everywhere by cowboys and members of Congress, is prime Berlin: emotionally direct, sinfully singable. The all-American immigrant, who died in 1989 at 101, wrote a million of 'em—well, 1,200, all collected in

this handsome volume, indispensable for anyone who can't stop humming *White Christmas*, *Puttin' on the Ritz*, *Always* or the ineffable *Cheek to Cheek*. "Heaven, I'm in heaven..." —By Richard Corliss

THEATER

FLOWER DRUM SONG **Rodgers & Hammerstein** This hokey 1958 Broadway hit has justly languished in dinner theaters ever since. Now, in a radical revision at Los Angeles' Mark Taper Forum, playwright David Henry Hwang treats the original like "some kind of weird Oriental minstrel show," as one character puts it, and wraps its assimilationist anthems into a merry multicultural trip from Tiananmen Square to San Francisco's Chinatown. Director-choreographer Robert Longbottom adds a dollop of kitsch—and somehow the mix is funny and clever. It even jerks a tear or two. Broadway, get ready! —By Margot Roosevelt

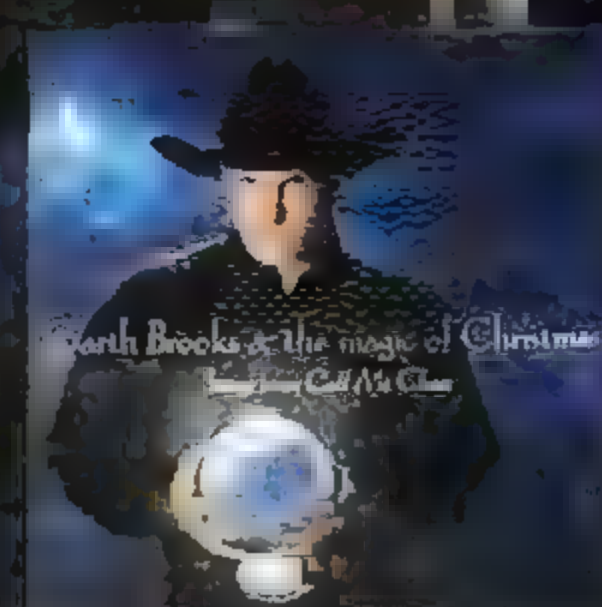


WHOOPI GOLDBERG

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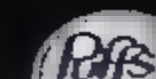
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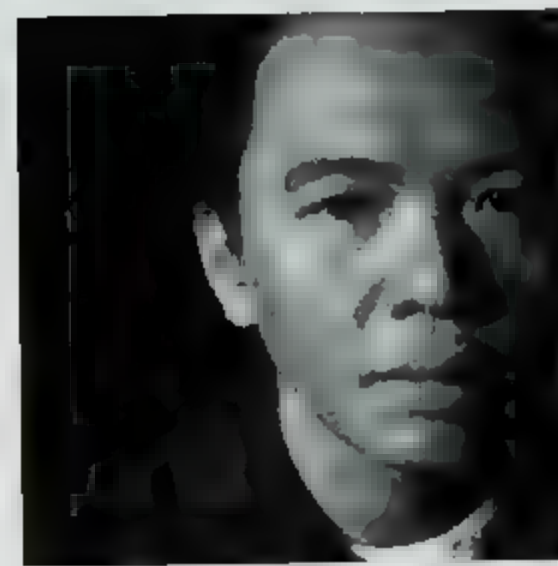
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The American Red Cross

HEARS AMERICA



Yung Ooi and his family received financial assistance from the Red Cross, and he became a volunteer Chinook translator to help others affected.

Shortly after the tragic events of September 11, the American Red Cross established the Liberty Disaster Fund as an account specifically to fund relief services related to terrorism. Families across this country have given the Red Cross their hard-earned dollars, their trust and very clear direction for our September 11 relief efforts. We regret that our program over the past eight weeks has not been as sharply focused as the people affected by this tragedy deserve and as our generous donors intended.

In our ongoing effort to be accountable to the caring donors and volunteers who make our lifesaving service possible, the Red Cross is making three important changes affecting the management of the Liberty Fund:

- **Focus only on families affected.** The victims of this terrible tragedy have been our first priority, and now they will be the only priority of the Liberty Fund. The fund will be meeting the immediate and long-term needs of the people affected by the September 11 tragedies, including the families that lost loved ones and those that were forced from their homes and places of work by the attacks.
- **Expand assistance immediately.** For families that lost loved ones, the Red Cross will provide additional funding to cover a full year of basic living expenses, including housing, food, utilities, tuition, child care and health care. By the end of December, the Red Cross will have disbursed \$275 million to those affected by the terrorist attacks. This is half of the \$542 million that has been received in the Liberty Fund to date. In January, the Red Cross will present a plan showing how the remaining funds will be used to help the families.
- **Improve coordination.** The Red Cross will work more closely with other relief agencies, sharing the names of the 25,000 families it has helped to date. This coordinated effort will make it easier for families to get help.

To improve and accelerate personalized services to the affected families, additional caseworkers and mental health workers have been added to the disaster operation. Outreach efforts will be expanded to ensure that the needs of the seriously injured and of various racial, ethnic and cultural groups are met.

To ensure that donors have confidence in our management of the Liberty Fund, the American Red Cross has invited the U.S. Army Audit Agency, along with the worldwide accounting firm KPMG, to audit the fund and publish a public report.

The Red Cross's original plans for the Liberty Fund proposed other programs, including a strategic blood reserve, community outreach and expanded services to military families. These lifesaving programs will continue but will be funded from sources other than the Liberty Fund.

While the Red Cross is no longer actively raising money for the Liberty Fund, we wish to thank our donors and volunteers everywhere for their generous outpouring of support. Thanks to you, we are easing suffering and restoring lives.

David McLaughlin

David McLaughlin
Chairman, Board of Governors
American Red Cross

Harold Decker

Harold Decker
Chief Executive Officer
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PERSONAL TIME YOUR MONEY

Sharon Epperson

Don't Bet It All on Your Employer

The plunge of Enron stock serves as a warning that workers should not invest too much in their company

STEVE LACEY, 45, AN EMERGENCY-REPAIR DISPATCHER FOR A UTILITY COMPANY in Salem, Ore., has a personal life that reads like a holiday greeting card. He recently married his longtime love, and after packing boxes over Thanksgiving weekend, they are set to move into their dream house in the country, just in time for Christmas. Lacey's retirement plans, however, are in ruins. He works for the embattled energy-trading firm Enron, and has all his 401(k) savings in Enron stock, which plunged from \$90 a share

in late 2000 to \$4.71 at the end of last week.

Much of that decline has come since October when Enron reported it had lost \$638 million in the third quarter and later admitted it had overstated earnings from 1997 to 2000. As their life savings shriveled, all Lacey and his co-workers could do was watch. From Oct. 17 to mid-November, Enron blocked its employees from shifting investments in their 401(k) accounts, while it switched to a new plan administrator.

Lacey has joined a federal lawsuit that accuses Enron of breaching its fiduciary duty to employees by encouraging them to invest in Enron stock even after executives became aware of serious financial problems that would hurt the stock price. "There was a lot of promotion inside the company to invest in Enron and help us grow, so everybody got into it," Lacey told TIME's Cathy Booth Thomas. Enron says it doesn't comment on pending lawsuits.

Lacey and his colleagues could not have anticipated that

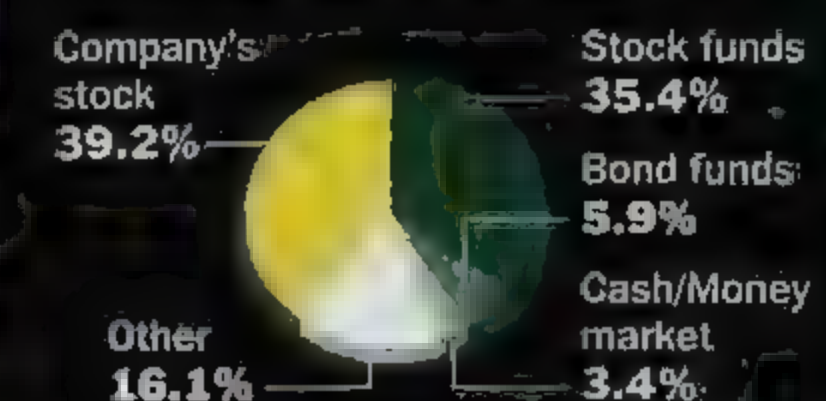
Sharon Epperson is a correspondent for CNBC Business News. E-mail her at sharon.epperson@nbc.com



DIVERSIFY YOUR 401(K) ASSETS

Steve Lacey invested 100% of his savings plan in his employer's stock. Experts say even the average worker, who holds 39% of his 401(k) assets in company stock, is poorly diversified.

Average allocation of assets in employee profit-sharing and 401(k) plans.



Source: Fidelity Investments

they would be stuck with a plummeting stock. But their woes should be seen as a warning not to hold too much of your employer's stock in your 401(k) and to regularly

monitor the diversification of your investments.

Like Enron's, many firms' 401(k) plans can have blackout periods lasting from a few days to a few weeks when they

change plan administrators. "That's not necessarily wrong or illegal," says Alden Bianchi, chairman of the employee-benefits group at the Mirick O'Connell law firm in Westborough, Mass. Employees need to make sure their 401(k) investments are diversified at all times—in case they can't shift them for a while.

Like Enron, many other big firms match employee contributions with company stock. Your allocation to that one investment can grow very quickly. And you might not be allowed to reallocate those matching funds into other investments until age 50 to 55. At the end of last year, a whopping 39% of total assets in profit sharing and 401(k) plans were invested in the stock of the sponsoring company. Among employees who are allowed to hold their employer's stock in their 401(k) account, 18% invested half or more of their savings in that stock.

Financial planners will tell you it's a mistake to bet so much on a single stock—especially that of the company you work for, whose fortunes already affect your job security and career advancement. Planners often advise investors to hold as little of their employer's stock as they can—say, only the amount the company gives them as a matching contribution. Then they should shift assets out of even that matching stock into a mix of diversified stock-and-bond mutual funds as soon as they are old enough to do so. Similarly, if your employer gives you options to buy company stock, don't buy and hold the stock; cash it in and invest the proceeds in a diverse blend of stocks and bonds or mutual funds.

Remember that it's your responsibility to arrange your investments so that they can survive any financial trouble your employer might suffer. As financial planner Clare Wherley of New Providence, N.J., says, "It's not the company's responsibility to make sure your investments go up."

IN BRIEF



TEEN SMOKING The awareness of health risks and the prospect of parental punishment rarely seem to deter middle and high school students from experimenting with cigarettes. But a Florida program has found that the threat of legal penalties can reduce teen smoking up to 40%. According to a study published in *Health, Education & Behavior*, in Florida counties where underage smoking laws are strictly enforced and penalties include being fined or losing a driver's license, students were far less likely to smoke than were students in lower-enforcement areas.

FEEDING MIND AND BODY Sibling spats at the dinner table might be annoying to parents, but they may also be important for child development. British psychologist David Cowell says that regular banter with brothers and sisters in the presence of their parents can teach kids self-assertion, negotiation and compromise. His study of 1,000 families found that mealtime is often the only chance children get to practice cooperative and confrontational skills.

TODDLERS AND TELEVISION The American Academy of Pediatrics warns that TV can negatively affect early brain development, especially for kids 2 and younger, when learning to talk and play is so crucial. Despite that kind of caution, the Children's Hospital Medical Center of Cincinnati has found that 40% of 2-year-olds watch more than 3 hr. of TV a day. —By Lisa McLaughlin



PERSONAL TIME YOUR FAMILY

Amy Dickinson

Older, Wiser and More Anxious

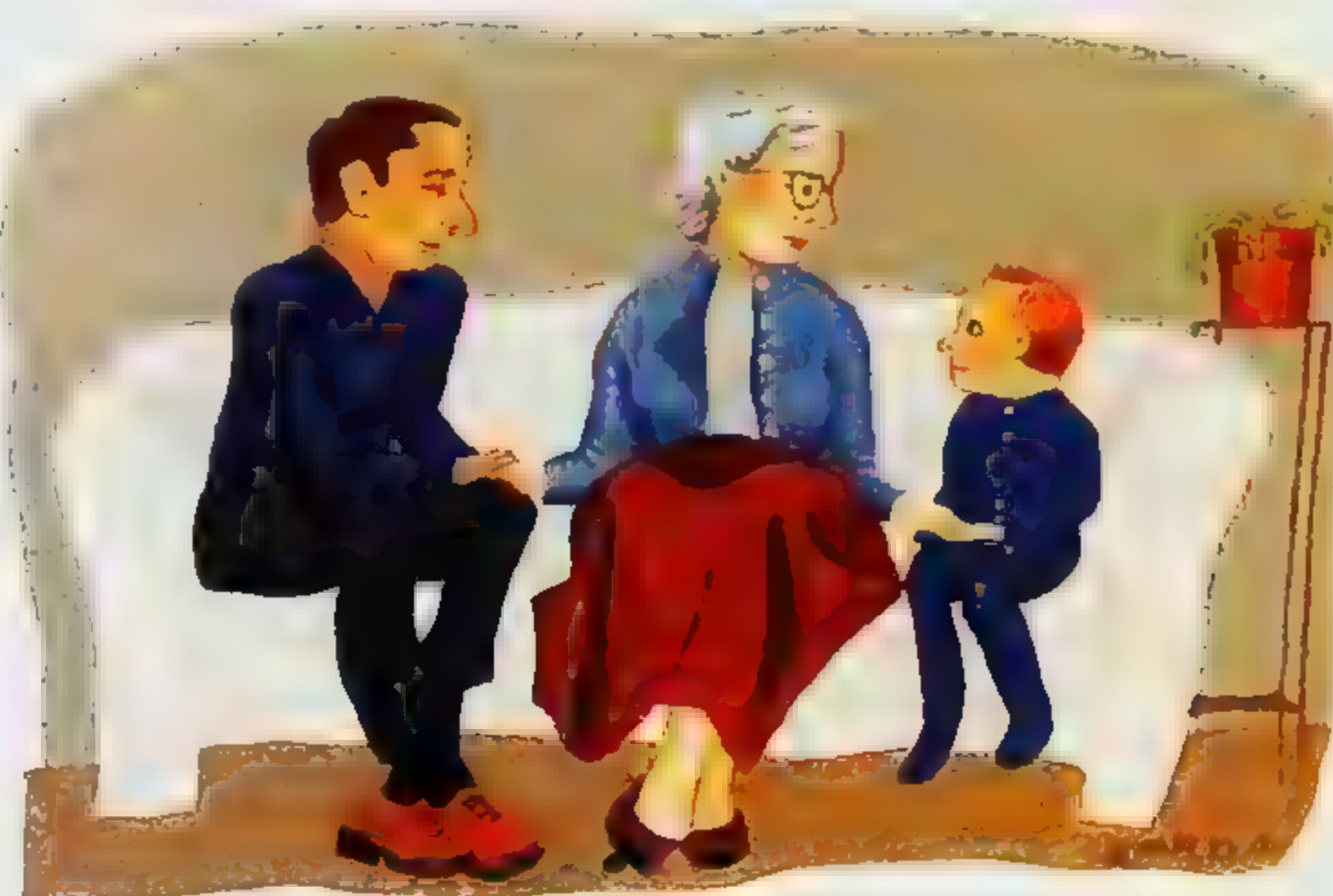
Stress over world events is affecting the elderly. So have you e-mailed your grandmother today?

LAST WEEK, WHILE ENJOYING MY FAMILY'S TRADEMARK THANKSGIVING RECIPE OF blessings and bickering, I looked around at the many older people in my large group of relations, and for the first time since Sept. 11, I wondered how they were really feeling. For the past several weeks much of our nation's concern has been focused on children—in my family, the attention tends to flow downward through the generations as if pulled by gravity.

But geriatric experts say they are seeing that the stresses many older people are

already under—such as isolation, health problems and financial worries—have been aggravated by the domestic terrorist attacks, the war and the recession. Gene Cohen, a geriatric psychiatrist and author of *The Creative Age*, is midway through a retirement study of 100 people ages 60 to 89 and has detected in their lives new practical and emotional problems. Take the longer waits at airports because of security checks and the restrictions imposed on passengers during flights. "Can you imagine standing in line for two hours with arthritis, or having bladder problems and being told you can't use the bathroom during a shuttle flight?" Cohen asks. Older clients have also told him that their income from IRAs and pensions has taken a hit and they fear they will have to get part-time jobs to make ends meet. The death last week from anthrax of Otilie Lundgren, a 94-year-old Connecticut woman, could increase anxiety among the elderly too. Lundgren, like some senior citizens, seldom left home and seemed to be out of harm's way.

You can e-mail Amy at timefamily@aol.com. See our web-site at time.com/personal



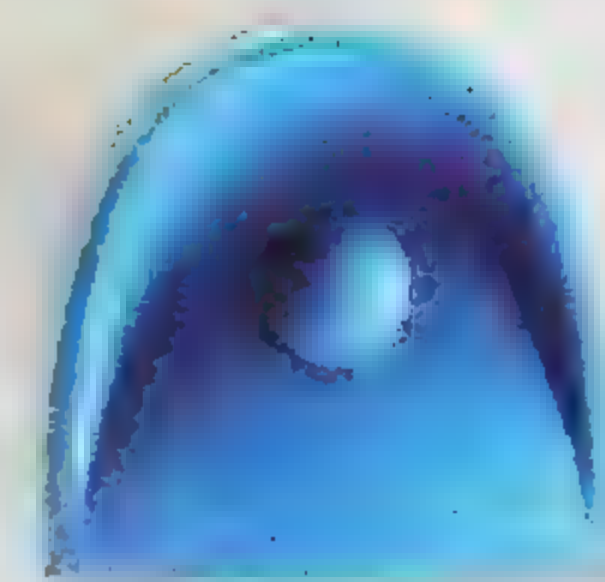
Grace Lebow, co-director of Aging Network Services in Bethesda, Md., says requests for long-distance geriatric-care managers have tripled since Sept. 11: "Older clients have depended on their kids' coming in from long distances to check on them from time to time. Now people aren't traveling," Lebow has a 94-year-old client who says she is not sleeping well and feels more depressed, knowing that her family won't get to her for the holidays. She wonders if she will ever see them again.

Cohen points to studies showing that, unlike their younger family members, the elderly who suffer from stress are more likely to become ill.

But families can help their aged relatives battle anxiety by keeping in close touch, asking pointed questions and getting help for them if necessary. Lebow suggests families buy greeting cards and send one a week to aging relatives, and encourage them to try e-mail (my mother has become an e-mail enthusiast). And the conversations about Sept. 11 can be rewarding for young and old: many people of the WW II generation report feeling that their life experiences are more relevant than ever in our post-9/11 world. Kids and grandkids are bound to benefit from stories told by older relatives who have lived through hardships

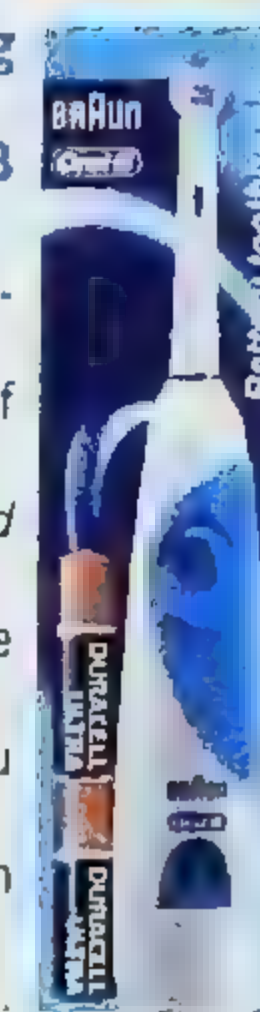


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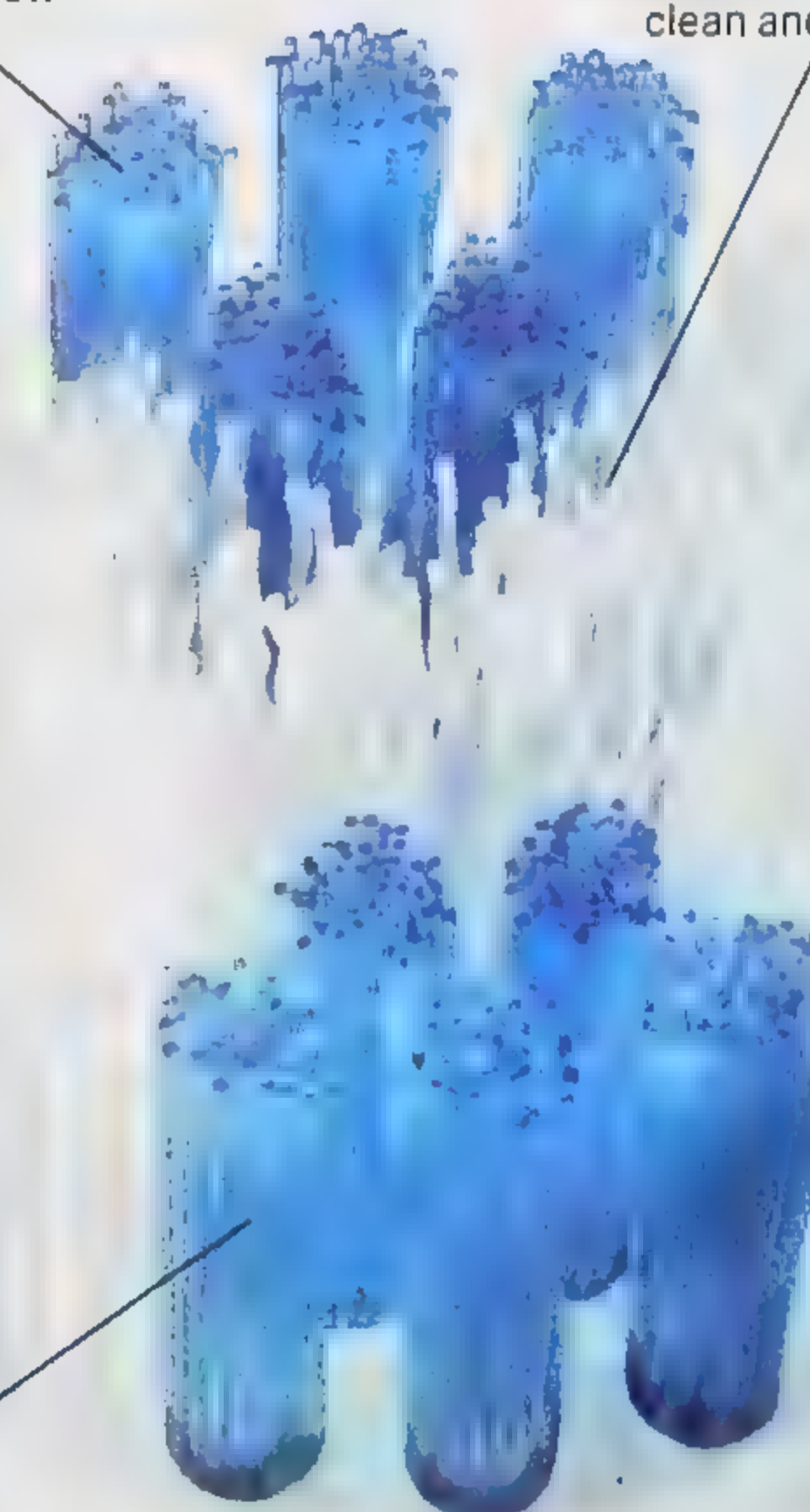
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A Smarter Slice of Toast

Toasters now come with computer chips and pie charts. If they're so clever, why is breakfast such a chore?

I WILL NEVER EAT AGAIN. IT IS THE DAY AFTER THANKSGIVING, AND I AM SERIOUSLY regretting every bite I took in the past 24 hours. Unfortunately, instead of a turkey dinner to gorge on, my holiday feast consisted solely of toast—white toast with butter, toasted English muffins with jam, toasted pumpernickel bagels with cream cheese and lox. But I know all too deep in my gut that what really put me over the edge was the toasted Pop-Tarts I had for breakfast this morning.

It all started when I saw a new toaster from Oster that offered 63 different

settings. Called the Perfectionist, this \$60 microprocessor-controlled box has separate calibrations for bagels, English muffins and regular bread. It reheats and defrosts. And it charts its progress on a blinking, beeping, digital pie chart you can watch while you wipe the sleep from your eyes.

Surely this must be a joke, I thought. People have been toasting bread for centuries, and they've never needed a computer to get the job done. Like answering machines, microwaves and VCRs before it, even the humble toaster seemed to have become too smart for its own good. To find out for sure, I put to the test four of the fanciest models I could find.

I soon learned that Oster's Perfectionist isn't the only toaster that asks humans to make far too many decisions before their first cup of coffee. Krups' ToastControl Digital, which sells for \$70, packs in even more options, including two for saving your favorite settings, like the bookmarks on your Web browser. Two glass-sealed quartz rods replace the usual wire heating elements in-

Questions for Anita? Send e-mail to hamilton@time.com

side and are supposed to toast your bread faster without drying it out. A built-in digital timer tells you precisely how



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many seconds are left to go.

Too bad the resulting toast proved to be merely ordinary. While bagels came out nicely and white bread toasted almost evenly, both took longer to brown in the Krups than in the three other models I tried. And for some reason, frozen English muffins came out slightly soggy, even on the defrost setting.

The Perfectionist also proved less than perfect. One side of my toast tended to come out darker than the other—fine for bagels, but not for bread. And while I had 63 options for browning, the short, 20-inch cord gave me too few options for where to put the thing.

That left me with two popular older models: KitchenAid's \$100 Ultra Power Plus, which comes in fun colors like green, blue and red, and Cuisinart's Custom Control Total Touch, which typically sells for \$70. The KitchenAid was cute and compact, but I finally settled on the slightly bulkier Cuisinart because it consistently turned out the most evenly browned bread, bagels, Pop-Tarts and muffins with the least amount of thought or effort on my part. Now that's what I call a smart toaster—not that I'll ever get near a piece of toast again. ■




COURTESY CALL In a belated effort to improve relations between cell-phone addicts and the people who sit near them, Nokia has begun a campaign to silence phones during theater performances. Its public-service announcement, which debuted Nov. 3 at a Dallas Opera production of Verdi's *Simon Boccanegra*, began with increasingly annoying rings, then urged the audience to switch phones to "vibrate." It was met with wild applause, and Nokia is now taking its show on the road.

FEEL THE BURN Are the VCR's days numbered? Pioneer and Philips have introduced the first DVD "burners" to create discs that can be read on most DVD players. Though built using competing technologies, Pioneer's DVR-7000 and Philips' DVDR1000 have one thing in common: a daunting \$2,000 price tag.

LOCATION, LOCATION It's a great idea: when you get lost in the woods, your cell phone tells you—and your rescuers—exactly where you are. The FCC now requires carriers to offer a phone that doubles as an emergency locator beacon, and Sprint PCS is the first wireless service to sell one. Its GPS-equipped SPH-N300 (\$150) will go live next week in Rhode Island. By the end of 2002, all Sprint phones will have GPS capability.

—By Wilson Rothman



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PEOPLE

By ELLIN MARTENS

AS IF COMPETING AGAINST GERALDO RIVERA WEREN'T BAD ENOUGH



So covering a war in Afghanistan is brutal? Try battling the *Wall Street Journal's* Tunku Varadarajan. In a column on female war correspondents, CNN's **CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR** is "second-rate," parachuting into war zones "kitted out in flak jackets"; MSNBC's **ASHLEIGH BANFIELD** is undergoing "a complex learning process" on air, starring in the story by dyeing her blond hair brown. "Despicable!" Banfield says, comparing talk of her looks and \$400 titanium-framed glasses to how the Taliban treats Afghan women. At least when Dan Rather wrapped himself in mufti to report from Afghanistan, he only had to live down the nickname "Gunga Dan."



A Shorts Story

You'd think the NBA would applaud modestly dressed role models such as **SHAQUILLE O'NEAL** and **KOBE BRYANT**. But no. The two Los Angeles Lakers stars were among at least nine players fined \$5,000 apiece by the NBA for wearing shorts too long. Seems the rule is that basketball shorts must stop at least an inch above the knee. It was enforced before, in 1997, when officials thought shorts were overly baggy-saggy à la hip-hop fashion, violating "the integrity of the uniform," in the words of the NBA's Tim Frank. Shaq says he refuses to wear "John Stockton shorts," referring to the Utah Jazz 39-year-old throwback who wears them shortish and tightish. If he did that, Shaq opined, the kids "would laugh at me, and I wouldn't be their favorite player anymore." He paused before reporters to dab fake tears with a paper towel. Said he: "I'd be the laughingstock of big men!"

ERIC GAY—AP



KEVIN MAZUR—WIREIMAGE



J-LO PRESSES ON; TERRORISTS LOSE

No, she's not on all fours searching for a lost contact lens—this is how **JENNIFER LOPEZ** spits in the eye of al-Qaeda. Because if she couldn't wriggle out of her clothes on a stage in Puerto Rico and ask, as she did in an NBC special aired last week, "Is it hot in here?" then, well, the terrorists would have won. For unlike Janet Jackson, who canceled her European tour, Lopez is going ahead with hers. "These are terrible times," J-Lo says, "but I think that as an artist I have a responsibility now to bring some lightness into people's lives with my music." Oh, yes, her music. She also stuck to a commitment to make two British TV appearances—though the 90-person entourage she brought with her probably made things easier, as did the white muslin and white lilies she requested for her dressing room, to go along with the white sofas she brought over. At the tour's first stop in Stockholm, autograph seeker Jennifer Melin, 15, gushed, "She is an incredible example for us. She says smart things!" Take that, Taliban.

KEVIN MAZUR—AP

FLASH! AL GORE TO WEAR TIES AGAIN

In politics, as in stand-up, timing is all. But **AL GORE** never quite mastered either. After all, this is the man who opens banquets with the line "I am Al Gore. I used to be the next President of the United States." He's also teaching at two Tennessee universities, writing a book with Tipper about families ... but clearly, time to get a real job. So he has. The former VP will be vice chairman (i.e. rainmaker) for Metropolitan West Financial, a Los Angeles-based firm that manages more than \$50 billion in assets. "I am eager to learn more about business as an active executive of this dynamic and community-oriented company," Gore enthused. Detractors said he went West because he couldn't close a Wall Street deal, where he'd hoped to make big bucks for another White House run. Gore's people won't comment. And the beard? Again, timing. Even in Kabul they know beards are out this fall.



Michael Elliott

Don't Make a Martyr of Him

Bin Laden's appeal will be reduced if we listen to the voices of the poor

FOR MOST OF US, MARTYRDOM LIES BEYOND UNDERSTANDING; we recoil from it. Of all the pronouncements of Osama bin Laden, none baffles Westerners, shaped (as they suppose) by rationality and the Enlightenment, as much as his celebration of the martyr's sacrifice. We puzzle over bin Laden's apparent conviction, in a 1996 fatwa, that at the moment of death, a martyr will feel no more pain than if he were being pinched. We giggle nervously at the rewards bin Laden says a martyr will receive in paradise—marriage to 72 virgins, divine intercession on behalf of 70 relatives.

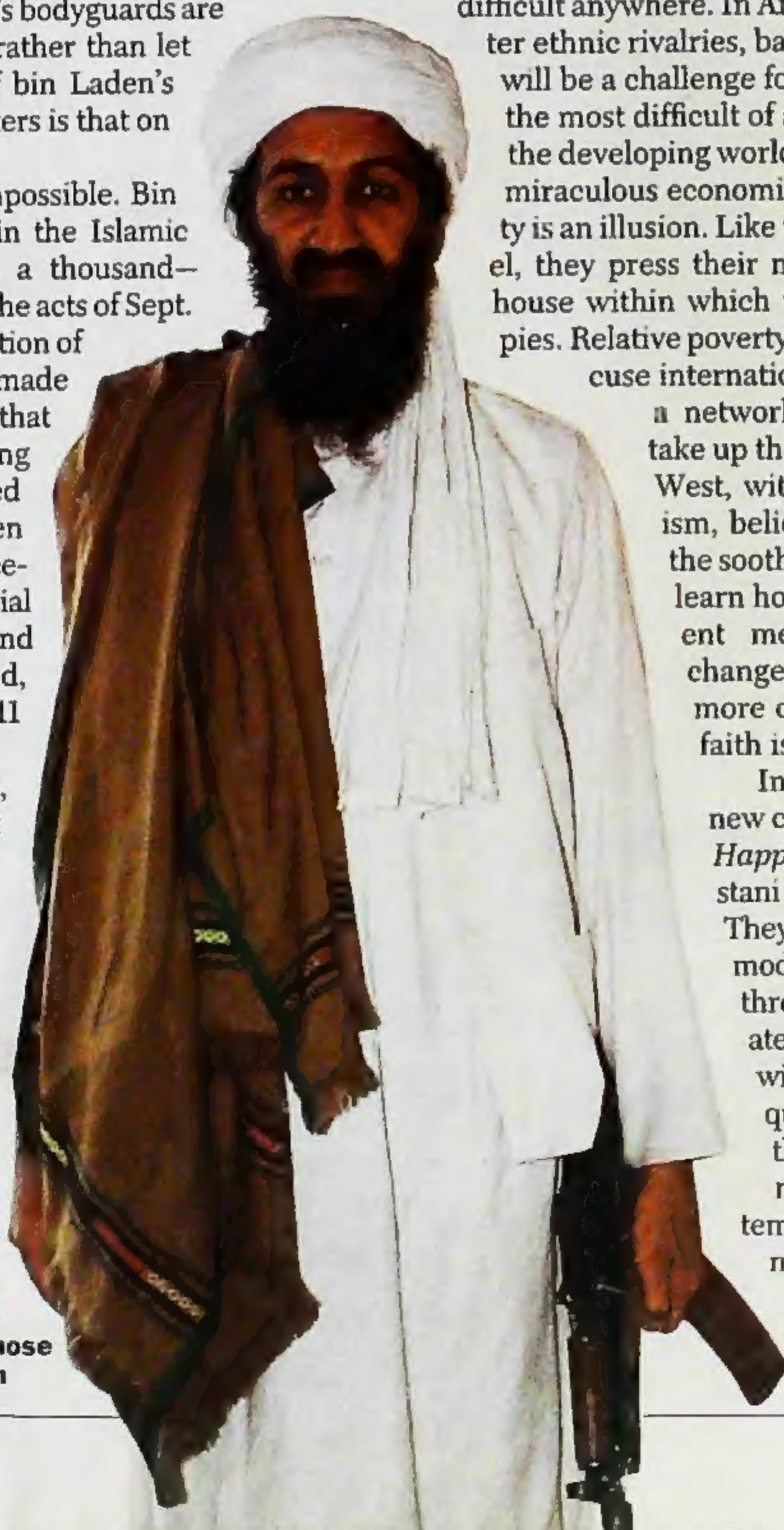
We should try harder. Martyrs win by losing, and we don't want the world's most famous martyr-in-waiting to win. Given the success so far of the military campaign in Afghanistan, it seems highly likely that bin Laden will soon be dead. He may be killed by U.S. forces who find his lair, or he may meet his death in the rubble of a bomb blast. Perhaps his end will come at the hands of those closest to him; bin Laden's bodyguards are said to have sworn to kill their leader rather than let him be captured. The precise form of bin Laden's death is of little significance. What matters is that on earth he be denied a martyr's crown.

Many scholars would say that is impossible. Bin Laden, they argue, is already a hero in the Islamic world; his death will merely inspire a thousand—10,000—imitators. That lends a logic to the acts of Sept. 11. At first glance the deliberate provocation of the most powerful nation in the world made little sense. But if America's reaction to that atrocity inspires a generation of young Muslims to commit themselves to armed struggle against the West, bin Laden wins. Then all the money spent on space-age pilotless planes and U.S. special forces, with their night-vision goggles and heat-seeking sensors, has been wasted, and all those who were killed on Sept. 11 have died in vain.

To give them a worthwhile legacy, the U.S. and its allies now need to fight on three fronts. The shooting war is not over; indeed, it may have hardly started. Whatever happens to bin Laden, al-Qaeda's fighters must be hunted down and disarmed; if they seek safe havens elsewhere or if other countries are proved to be assisting al-Qaeda, then the war may yet spread far beyond Afghanistan's plains.

America's battle plan for the second front was written 137 years ago. When Abraham Lincoln spoke at

If thousands vie to take his place, all those killed on Sept. 11 will have died in vain



his second Inaugural, he implored Americans to "bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan." Few nations are as wounded as Afghanistan; even fewer have so many pitiable widows and orphans. If it is true (and it is) that U.S. policy over the past 20 years is not the main or even proximate cause of such suffering, it is also true that America is the richest nation on earth and Afghanistan one of the poorest. A large measure of generosity—aid, medicine, a program to remove the land mines that keep Afghan fields untilled and maim Afghan children—can prolong the smiles on the faces of those liberated in the past two weeks. There must be no replay of America's thoughtlessness in 1989, when, after the defeated Soviet forces marched across the Oxus River, Washington dropped Afghanistan like a used tissue.

Granted, using aid from the outside to build a nation is difficult anywhere. In Afghanistan (which, riven by bitter ethnic rivalries, barely counts as a nation at all) it will be a challenge for heroes. But the third front is the most difficult of all. For millions in the cities of the developing world, even in places that have seen miraculous economic growth, the promise of plenty is an illusion. Like the children in a Victorian novel, they press their nose against the windows of a house within which tables groan under jellies and pies. Relative poverty did not create and does not excuse international terrorism. But it can build a network of sympathy for those who take up the bomb and gun. Somehow the West, with its commitment to rationalism, belief in the future, confidence in the soothing effects of prosperity, has to learn how to talk to those with a different mental map—those for whom change is threatening, yesterday is more comforting than tomorrow and faith is a rock amid shifting sands.

In a brilliant contribution to the new collection of essays *How Did This Happen?*, Anatol Lieven tells of Pakistani Islamic radicals in the 1980s. They lived in a "semi-Western, semi-modern culture." They faced the threat of "sinking into the immiserated, semi-employed proletariat—with the *hira mandi*, or prostitutes' quarter, as the possible destiny of their sisters and daughters." It is men like those who may soon be tempted to venerate bin Laden's memory. We must persuade them to withhold the accolade; we can start by listening to their stories.

What do I wish? That they always be this happy.

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